

HISTORY

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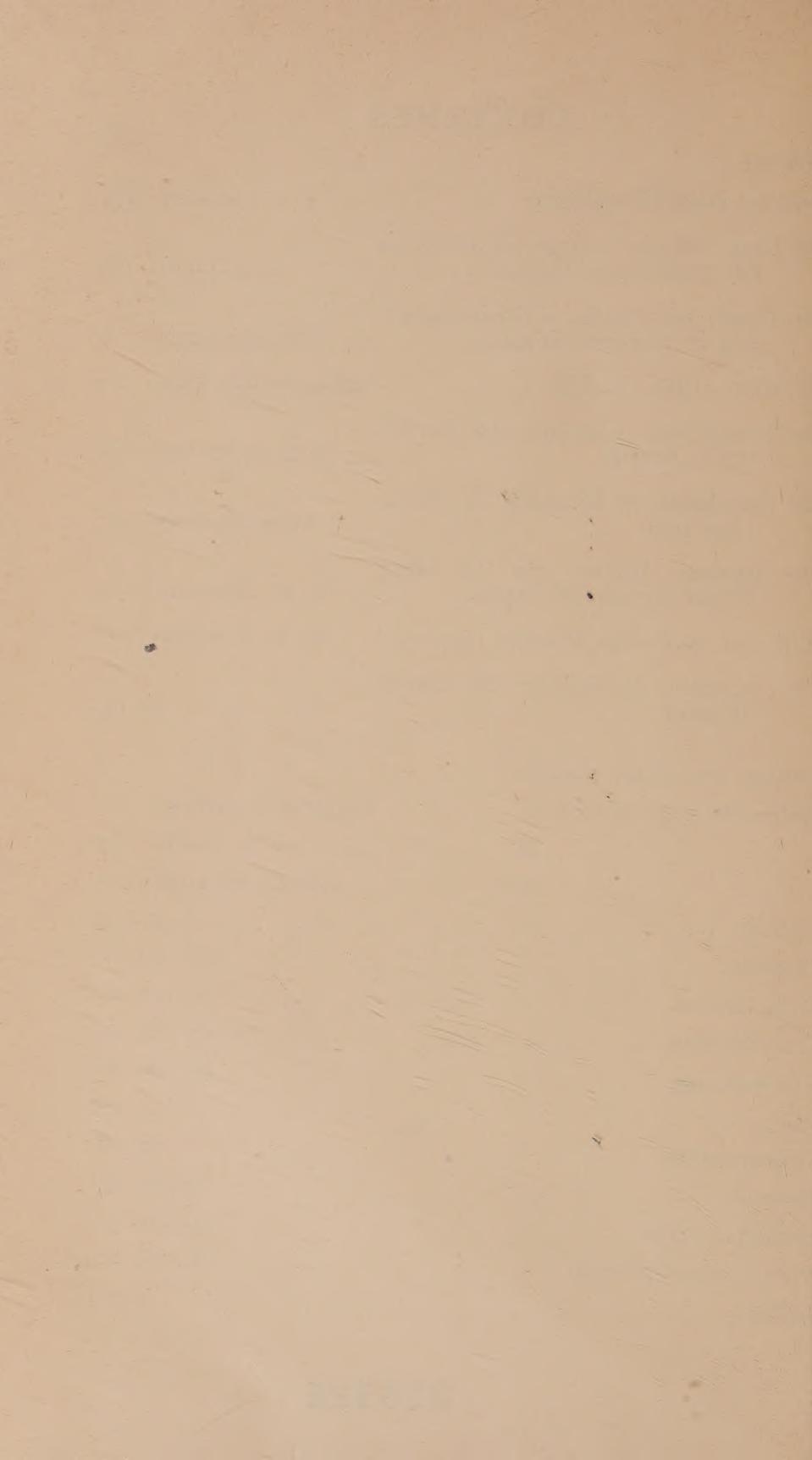
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THE THEORY AND PRACTICE OF EXCOMMUNICATION IN MEDIEVAL ENGLAND

ROSALIND HILL

Westfield College, London

THE SENTENCE of greater excommunication had two immediate consequences for the person who incurred it. He was excluded from the sacraments of the Church, and cut off from intercourse with his fellows, with the exception of his spouse and children and of any clergy upon whom might be laid the responsibility of inducing him to repent of his sins. Nobody else might join with him 'in eating or drinking, in buying or selling, in prayer or greeting' and he was in theory excluded from all civil rights as well as from all social connections. If he died under such a sentence he was presumed to be damned and could not be buried in consecrated ground, and although Cæsarius of Heisterbach tells the story of a heroic wife who obtained her husband's salvation, and Christian burial for his body, at the cost of fourteen years' penance for herself, such cases were so rare as to be considered miraculous—and, Cæsarius adds, there would have been no hope for the husband if he had not actually repented at the moment of death.¹ In theory, to suffer the sentence of excommunication was the most serious disaster which could ever befall a man, because it cut at the roots not only of his life temporal but of life eternal.

Yet in practice, on 7 June 1304, Bishop Dalderby of Lincoln solemnly excommunicated all those persons in the rural deanery of Newport Pagnell who, having cognizance of the place in which Sir Gerald Salvayn's errant falcon had taken refuge, failed to return it to its owner.² There is, of course, no excuse for the crime of 'larceny by finding', and stray falcons should certainly be restored to their owners, but to invoke the severest process known to church authority in order to achieve this desirable result does seem a little excessive. In order to see why such things were done we shall have to consider the whole question of the use of the sentence of excommunication in the Middle Ages, but first let us clear up two points. Excommunication was not, in origin,

¹ Cæsarius, *Dialogus de Miraculis*, xii. 24.

² Dalderby, *Register*, f. 67^v.

Christian; and it was meant, when Christians used it, to be a warning rather than a punishment. The excommunicated person was not cut off permanently, he was cut off until he repented and made amends. Bishop Dalderby wanted to see the falcon returned to its owner—it was no part of his work to damn people unnecessarily. If the falcon came back, I have no doubt that the people who had tried to steal it spent some uncomfortable weeks in doing penance, but they probably died as respected members of the Church, speeded on their way by the *Via-ticum* and the prayers of the faithful, and decently buried in the parish churchyard.

The fact that the sentence of excommunication has a pre-Christian origin is made quite clear by Julius Cæsar in his description of the powers of the Druids.

Any individual or tribe failing to accept their decision [he says] is banned from taking part in sacrifice—the heaviest punishment that can be inflicted upon a Gaul. Those who are laid under such a ban are regarded as impious criminals. Everyone shuns them and avoids going near or speaking to them, for fear of taking some harm by contact with what is unclean; if they appear as plaintiffs, justice is denied to them, and they are excluded from a share of any honour.³

This description makes it clear that the Church's amplification of the statement 'let him be to you as a heathen man and a publican' ⁴ was drawn, as were many of its practical decrees, from sources which were already ancient. The need for some strong official sanction to restrain transgressors became apparent in the fourth century, when Constantine brought the Church out of the catacombs and made it an acceptable, and indeed fashionable, institution in the Roman empire. From the time of the battle of the Milvian Bridge the boat of S. Peter, hitherto a refuge for a small and often heroic band of Christians, became a kind of Noah's Ark containing a most varied menagerie of creatures. All kinds of people were baptized, and so discipline had to be applied, not only to a chosen aristocracy of believers who were prepared if need be to face martyrdom, but to the ordinary person who accepted, without much question and without any strong vocation, the faith of his emperor or of his local ruler. In England, where the influence of the kings was always strong, the conversion of Æthelbert of Kent was followed by that of most of his immediate subjects and by two kings of lesser status, but there is evidence that idolatry went on privately in Kent for at least another forty years.⁵ Edwin of Northumbria, when he summoned that meeting of his Witan which Bede has made famous, clearly thought that a king's decision in matters of faith would be binding upon all his

³ Cæsar, *D.B.G.* i. 1.

⁴ S. Matthew, xviii. 17.

⁵ Bede, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, ed. Plummer, pp. 47, 91, 116 and 142. The laws of Wihtred, issued about 695, show that idolatry was still a problem. Attenborough, *Laws of the Earliest English Kings*, p. 27.

people.⁶ Such mass baptisms could rarely be followed up by pastoral teaching. In the large territorial dioceses of seventh-century England, where churches were few and far between and there was virtually no parish life outside the immediate neighbourhood of a bishop's household or a minster, it was difficult to explain to ordinary lay people the niceties of canon law—let alone to enforce it. The only way in which bishops could hope to enforce rules, except, as in the legislation of the Synod of Hertford, upon their senior clergy, was by relying on the support of the king and by borrowing his antique and traditional methods of legislation. For this reason they produced the Penitential Codes, the earliest of which, collected soon after the death of Theodore of Tarsus, probably represents a good deal of his practical work as Father in God. A. L. Smith was, I think, too severe in contrasting the *Jus Novum* with 'the horrible old lumber of the penitential books'.⁷ It is quite true that Theodore, like Egbert of York, knew a good deal about the dark places of the human personality, and that the Penitential Codes deal with a collection of sins, ranging from parricide to 'drinking liquid in which a dead mouse or weasel is found',⁸ which most of us would find revolting. Yet the whole tenor of these codes is sensible, practical and above all redemptive. If you kill your father, or if you drink polluted ale, there is an appropriate remedy for your soul, painful, and in serious cases prolonged, but not without hope of ultimate recovery. It is interesting that in these codes excommunication is rarely mentioned and then almost always in connection with obstinate heretics or apostates. Archbishop Theodore, who knew the customs both of East and West, remarked in passing that among the Greeks those who absented themselves from communion on three successive Sundays were excommunicated, but he added that this ruling did not hold good in the Roman West,⁹ where the extent of the dioceses and the rarity of the visits of ordained priests must have made it impossible for laymen living in remote places to receive communion with any sort of regularity, however much they may have wished to do so. It is clear that conditions before the tenth century in England were not such that any disciplinary action of the Church should be used to discourage the reception of communion, and penitents on the whole were firmly encouraged to come to church and to participate in the sacraments. The phrase made famous by Becket 'Non enim judicat Deus bis in idipsum' was first used in England, so far as I know, by Archbishop Egbert of York, Bede's pupil, when he declared that clerics who were caught in the act of theft, perjury or fornication should be expelled from their orders but not excluded from communion.¹⁰

⁶ Bede, *op. cit.* p. 111.

⁷ A. L. Smith, *Church and State in the Middle Ages*, p. 56. Plummer, in his edition of Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica*, i. clvii-clviii, takes an even more extreme view—'It is hard to see how anyone could busy himself with such literature and not be the worse for it'.

⁸ Egbert's *Penitential*, xiii. 5. (Haddon and Stubbs, iii. 428.)

⁹ Haddon and Stubbs, iii. 186. Bishop Cedd, however, had earlier excommunicated a man for fornication. Bede, *op. cit.* p. 173.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* p. 421.

The comparative rarity, so far as our evidence goes, of sentences of excommunication published in England before the Conquest was a measure of the power of the king and his great men as lay advocates—compared with the rather remote authority of the pope—and of the fact that it was difficult to exclude a man from church if that church happened to be the private chapel of some powerful thane whose inclinations ran contrary to the commands of the bishop. In any case, when churches were few and far apart, it was a more acute problem to induce people to come to them than to see that offenders were excluded. Ecclesiastical authority could best be enforced by calling in the lay power, so that sinners could be punished by fines, or, if they were of servile rank, by beatings. The laws of kings from the time of Æthelbert of Kent to that of Cnut make this fact very clear; indeed some kings were rather more zealous in the protection of the Church's rights than were the popes themselves.¹¹ In the Northumbrian Priests' Code of the early eleventh century the method by which lapses into heathenism were punished is indicated with refreshing directness. It contains no mention of excommunication. 'If there is on anyone's land a sanctuary round a stone or tree or well or any such nonsense, he who made it is to pay compensation, half to Christ and half to the lord of the estate.'¹² In this period, superstition lay in that no-man's-land between common and ecclesiastical law, and involved a breach of social obligations as well as a breach of divine commands. Like the habit of working on Sundays, swearing false oaths or abducting girls from nunneries, it could be dealt with most efficiently by a penalty inflicted in the lay courts, on the understanding that the Church should receive a share of any fines which were imposed. Kings were generally on good terms with their bishops, and anxious to promote Christian and civilized behaviour in their lands—Cnut, who as a young man had led an army of 'heathen men', was as diligent as anyone in his attempts to enforce the laws of the Church—so that there was no conflict between what we should call spiritual and temporal jurisdiction in England. The fact that this state of affairs persisted after the Norman conquest is illustrated by Eadmer's statement that William I would not permit any of his barons or officials to be excommunicated, whatever the man's sins, except with royal consent.¹³ William was, on the whole, a devout man with a real respect for ecclesiastical discipline, but he clearly considered it dangerous to allow any person holding a position of responsibility to be expelled from social intercourse simply because he was a sinner. A sentence of excommunication pronounced, for example, against the Earl of Chester might have laid open the whole of the Northern Marches of Wales to a dangerous invasion directed against a man who was technically prevented from giving commands which his subordinates could obey.

¹¹ Bede, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, ed. Plummer, p. 50, and D. Whitelock, *English Historical Documents*, i. 357.

¹² Whitelock, *op. cit.* p. 438.

¹³ Eadmer (quoted in Stubbs, *Sel. Chart.*, ed. H. W. C. Davis, p. 96).

When it was a choice between security and the immediate punishment of sin, William chose security. His contemporary the Emperor Henry IV and the German bishops would have agreed with him, but not only they, for in the eleventh century the Church was seriously in need of armed protectors. Christianity is the toughest and most enduring of creeds, but Christendom—the society of all baptized people—has always been a fragile structure, and in the eleventh century it was endangered by Turks and infidels on its frontiers as well as by internal warfare. The popes of the centuries which lay between Adrian I and Gregory VII had developed a highly exalted idea of their authority,¹⁴ but this had not prevented them from showing a perfectly reasonable desire not to push disputes with their lay advocates to the point of excommunication if this could in any way be avoided. Even those popes who were most fully imbued with the ideas which we have learned to call ‘High Gregorian’ needed a good deal of provocation before they would actually pronounce the sentence upon a king, upon whose goodwill the protection of the clergy depended. Although the author of the ‘York Tractates’ took a rather extreme view in claiming that earthly royalty was the symbol of the Divine Nature of Christ while priesthood symbolized only His humanity,¹⁵ yet kings were not lightly to be disregarded. In some ways a northern king who held his throne by an hereditary claim was a good deal less vulnerable than an emperor who had to go to Rome for the crowning which confirmed his election, since emperors had been potentially dangerous rivals of the pope, while the converted kings of the north had been the means through which Christianity, and with it papal authority, were spread. Moreover, if a sentence of excommunication were pronounced against a king who had himself some knowledge of canon law, it could be made to rebound against the pope in a way very dangerous to papal authority.

Insufficient regard has, I think, been paid to that interesting document produced by King Sverre of Norway at the end of the twelfth century and known as the *Anecdoton Sverriri*,¹⁶ and although it is not directly concerned with excommunication in England I should like to give a brief account of it, since Sverre, one of the few people outside the Fourth Crusade who was successful in standing out against Innocent III, deserves a special place in any study of the relations between popes and kings. He claimed to be descended from the ancient royal house of Harald Fairhair, although by general repute he was the son of a prosperous farmer in the Faroe Islands. He was trained for the Church, and like Henry I of England and Baldwin I of Jerusalem found that training extremely useful when, as king, he had to deal with the conflicting claims of the spiritual and temporal powers. After a long civil war, in which he was supported by the Northerners and

¹⁴ Ullmann, *Growth of Papal Government in the Middle Ages*, *passim*.

¹⁵ Douglas and Greenaway, *English Historical Documents*, ii. 676–8.

¹⁶ *Sverrissaga*, tr. J. Sephton, pp. 241–61.

most of the independent crofters of Norway, he succeeded in establishing himself as king, in the teeth of strong opposition led by the bishops and the great landowners of the south and backed by Danish support. However, his determination to act as a lay-advocate of the most uncompromising sort made it impossible for him to settle down peaceably with his bishops, who combined High Gregorian ideas with a strong sense of their own independence. In 1198, a few months after Innocent III became pope, Sverre was formally excommunicated. Unlike John of England, he did not disregard the state of excommunication as long as he could; instead, he drew upon his considerable knowledge of Gratian's *Decretum* to prove that the sentence was invalid. In the *Anecdoton* he argued that although a king, like anyone else, could be excommunicated because of his sins, he could not lawfully be affected by a sentence pronounced upon him because he had simply done those things which belonged to the authority of a ruler. He did not, he said, blame the pope

for he knows not what goes forward in this land, nor in any other that lies far distant from him. Our bishops and clergy are to blame for in their enmity to us they carry gossip and lies to the Pope. . . . And though he has pronounced sentence, his condemnation will not touch the king, or any innocent man in the land, for God is ever a righteous judge, and his judgements are according to right and not according to the iniquity of lying and deceitful men. To this cause bears witness the *Decretum*, in eleventh Cause and the third question ¹⁷

—whereupon he proceeds to argue, upon the weighty authority of S. Jerome, S. Augustine, Gelasius and Urban II¹ that a sentence pronounced upon an innocent man is not only null and void, but that it rebounds upon the person responsible for its promulgation.

Sverre died in 1204, still theoretically under the sentence which he refused to recognize. His last words are said to have been 'Let the Lord judge between me and them, and decide all my cause'.¹⁸ He was buried in Bergen with full Christian rites, and his descendants established themselves, although with some difficulty, as kings of Norway.

Kings such as Sverre, who could refute a pope by quoting canon law at him, were rare—a fact which was probably lucky for the papacy. A king's training, in general, was military not ecclesiastical, and he could not be expected to have Gratian at his fingers' ends. Yet in dealing with kings (and the fact is nowhere more plain than in England) successive popes showed a strong reluctance to excommunicate those who were almost intolerably provocative. William I flatly turned down Gregory VII's demand for an oath of fealty, William II was a notorious despoiler of Church lands, Henry I had at least nineteen bastard children by an oddly assorted company of mistresses, Stephen was a perjurer and Henry II carried the moral responsibility for the spectacular murder of an archbishop, yet although there were sometimes

¹⁷ *Sverrissaga*, pp. 243-4.

¹⁸ *Ibid.* p. 232.

threats of excommunication the sentence was never actually pronounced against any of them. John was excommunicated for contumacy in the matter of the appointment to the see of Canterbury, but Innocent III delayed the sentence as long as he decently could and left in it every possible loophole, putting most of the blame on the king's advisers,¹⁹ and he never went to the length of actual deposition.²⁰ Henry III was threatened with excommunication if he did not produce money for the Apulian war, but Henry was known to be both devout and vacillating,²¹ and the papal envoy Harlotus probably thought that the mere threat would be enough to force him into action. Edward I, whose hand on the Church was often heavy, was not excommunicated for the resistance which he showed to the Bull *Clericis Laicos* and, so far as I know, he and his family were always expressly exempted from general sentences of excommunication into which they might have fallen. He was, for example, indirectly responsible for a rather blood-thirsty attack upon the church of Thame, in which one man was killed, several injured, and Mass said in a desecrated church, but although everyone else involved in the affair was excommunicated the king was most carefully excluded from the sentence.²² In fact, as I have tried to show elsewhere, the pope and the English bishops seem always to have acted with a strong feeling that 'the powers that be are ordained of God'.²³ They had some justification for this attitude in a country which was, until the second half of the fourteenth century, remarkably free from heresy. If kings and magnates sometimes harried individual clerics or churches, they were generally prepared to throw their weight on the side of public morals and ecclesiastical rights. The dramatic accounts given by chroniclers of royal disputes with Anselm, Becket, Langton or Winchelsey should not blind us to the fact that, in general, the king and his bishops worked very well together, and that the surest road to a bishopric led through the royal curia. Moreover, England was well governed. The king, as Maitland said, sold justice, but it was a better article than you could get elsewhere. The anarchy of Stephen's reign had taught England one salutary lesson, that lack of government might be worse than a government which was too efficient. The Church had too much sense to take pleasure in humiliating those people who were set in positions of authority, whether they were kings, sheriffs or merely the lords of small manors. Society was, after all, dependent upon the maintenance of law and order before its members could begin to pursue the good life, and S. Peter's successors had not forgotten the injunction to 'render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's'²⁴—they were, in fact, prepared to allow Cæsar a little more liberty than his subjects.

¹⁹ Cheney and Semple, *Selected Letters of Pope Innocent III*, pp. 117-20, 139-40.

²⁰ *Ibid.* p. 139.

²¹ Matt. Par., *Chronica Majora* (R.S.), v. 676. The words 'sub magnis pœnis quas recitare reor inhonestum' seem to refer to a threat of excommunication, which Henry treated seriously.

²² *Lincoln Record Society*, vol. 48, pp. xl-xli.

²⁴ S. Matthew, xxii. 21.

²³ Romans, xiii. 1.

What, in fact, did happen to his subjects—to the ordinary people of the Middle Ages who had few public responsibilities and who have left little mark upon history? As we have seen, there is not much evidence that the sentence of excommunication was used against them before the Conquest. In the twelfth century, although the records are very incomplete, it appears that the spread of High Gregorian ideas of church discipline, together with the fact that bishops had a much wider knowledge of canon law, led to the sentence being pronounced much more frequently. Indeed before 1200 it had become so familiar that people were inclined to disregard it if they thought that they could do so with impunity, and this fact worried the archdeacons. In the *Gemma Ecclesiastica* Gerald of Wales cites various cases where the sentence had been effective not only against devils and men, but even against animals.

Let us take an example [he says] from S. Ives the bishop, who by his sentence altogether expelled those greater mice, which are commonly known as rats, from that part of Ireland called Ferns, because they gnawed his books so that for a long time none could be bred there, nor survive if they were brought thither. . . . If therefore excommunication has such power over worms and beasts, whose very brutishness excuses them from sin, it is greatly to be feared by men, endowed with reason, when they sin with full knowledge so that they cannot be excused.

But he implies that men, in this matter, did not come up to the standard of rats,²⁵ and I do not think that Professor Brewer's suggestion that he was thinking only of Welshmen can be supported by the Latin text.²⁶ Gerald was Welsh and very proud of his descent, but his book, written for Innocent III, seems to be based on general observation of people whom he had met in England, France and Ireland as well as in Wales. He included even stories from places more remote; Italy, for example, is the scene of a pleasant tale of how a girl possessed by a devil repeatedly slapped a holy man's face, until, worn out by his persistent turning of the other cheek, the evil spirit cried 'Thy patience defeats me!' and fled away for ever.²⁷ Gerald enjoyed a good story and sometimes sacrificed accuracy to raciness, but he was a hard-working archdeacon and one really interested in people. If he says that people in his own time regarded the sentence of excommunication too lightly because they saw it inflicted frequently and for trivial offences, I think that he is speaking the truth.

In the thirteenth century, as we know from statutes promulgated by papal legates such as Otto²⁸ and Ottobono²⁹ and archbishops such as Langton³⁰ and Pecham³¹ and repeated frequently in diocesan synods, the sentence of excommunication was very widely used against offenders of most varied kinds. Assaults upon the clergy or the stealing of church property caused the sentence to be incurred automatically,

²⁵ Giraldus Cambrensis (R.S.), ii. 161.

²⁷ *Ibid.* p. 56.

²⁹ *Ibid.* ii. 2.

²⁸ Wilkins, *Concilia*, i. 653.

³⁰ *Ibid.* i. 585.

²⁶ *Ibid.* pp. xii-xiii.

³¹ *Ibid.* ii. 33, 56.

even though the assault might be a trivial blow only sufficient to cause a clerk's nose to bleed, or the theft amount to nothing more serious than the filching of a little wood from a churchyard. It was not, however, simply crimes against ecclesiastical persons or property which were punished by excommunication. One of the most interesting features of church administration in this period is the way in which general sentences of excommunication, not recognized by Gratian as valid, were now being applied to certain classes of offender who could not be identified by name. (This is interesting, for it suggests that the Church had broken away from the primitive tradition that it was impossible either to bless or to curse, to baptize or to excommunicate, a person who could not be named.) Criminals of various kinds, ranging from murderers and robbers to 'those who infringe Magna Carta' ³² or (in the diocese of Sodor and Man at least) 'wizards and poisoners' ³³ were solemnly and publicly excommunicated three or four times a year in a sort of commination service, at which it was considered desirable that there should be a sermon 'in the English tongue' explaining and denouncing their crimes. ³⁴ This practice was still continued late in the fourteenth century, for Bishop Brinton of Rochester mentions, in the course of a sermon, the fact that people were excommunicated for 'grave crimes, such as manslaying, theft and so on'. ³⁵ The idea behind this special use of the sentence seems to have been to reinforce the power of the secular courts against lay criminals, most of whom had in any case been breaking the Commandments. Wizards, of course, would have been answerable to the church in any event, but it is interesting to find that in the diocese of Salisbury the sentence of excommunication was used, as early as 1223, against people who deliberately infringed the provisions of Magna Carta, ³⁶ and that this ruling was reiterated by Archbishop Pecham at the Council of Reading in 1279 and the Council of Lambeth in 1281. These facts deserve the consideration of constitutional historians. We have all learned to qualify the statement that Magna Carta was the keystone of our liberties, but the fact remains that the English bishops in the thirteenth century thought the Charter so important that a breach of its provisions should fall into the same category as arson, perjury, murder or theft. A man who broke the Charter put himself outside the bounds of decent society, and was *ipso facto* expelled from the body of Christendom until he made amends. There is no other English charter of which as much could be said.

From the use of general sentences of excommunication against all those persons unknown who committed outrages against the common law for which, could they have been identified, they would have been liable to punishment in the king's courts, it was but a short step to the excommunication of individual criminals whose names were unknown.

³² Wilkins, *Concilia*, ii. 35.

³³ *Ibid.* ii. 178.

³⁴ *Ibid.* ii. 172.

³⁵ Brinton, *Sermons* (Camden Soc.), i. 14.

³⁶ Wilkins, *Concilia*, i. 601.

As Bishop Dalderby of Lincoln says in his register 'those who injure others, and will not make amends at the plea of those who have suffered, may be constrained by their bishops with the bond of excommunication, even though their names are not known'.³⁷ It seems to have been a regular practice in some dioceses, notably those of Lincoln and York, for the bishop to issue mandates for the excommunication of unknown people who had injured private lay individuals—as if a modern bishop should excommunicate the perpetrator of one particular burglary. Sentences of this kind occur quite frequently in the registers of Sutton and Dalderby at Lincoln and of Greenfield and Melton at York, and a careful study of other registers still unpublished would probably reveal many more. For example in 1309 Sir Edward Charles, knight, of Milton in the parish of Caistor, complained that burglars had

entered into his manor-house, broken open the doors of his chamber and taken away his goods, to wit silver vessels and no small number of jewels, and had abominably torn his charters and muniments which were there, wrenching off the seals, and had carried off other things and kept them, to the peril of their souls.

There was here no question of injury to the Church or theft of church property, but the burglars were duly excommunicated.³⁸ I do not know whether it caused them to repent, or to return Sir Edward's plate, for like so many of the curious things which crop up in medieval registers the story has no end. The frequency with which the sentence was invoked upon criminals of this kind does, however, suggest that it was commonly believed to be effective, and perhaps the solemnities of bell, book and candle stirred up a spark of piety even in a hardened burglar. The whole subject would repay a closer investigation.

With Sir Edward's silver and jewels we come back very close to our starting-point, to Sir Gerard Salvayn's falcon moping in unlawful concealment in some outhouse in Newport Pagnell. We shall probably never know whether he got it back, but at least that unfortunate bird, in its brief flight into recorded history, has shown us something of the way in which the sentence of excommunication was used, and often, with the best motives, abused. A reasonable line of argument connects its imposition upon 'the more atrocious criminals' and upon people who failed to return stray hawks, and the attitude of those who had to administer canon law can be explained and justified at every step of the process. But it is not surprising to find that as the sentence was imposed too freely so its impressiveness diminished, and the Church had to fall back upon the help of the king and obtain a writ 'de excommunicato capiendo' for the imprisonment of people who had shown no signs of repentance for at least six weeks and often for several years. Imprisonment sometimes succeeded where spiritual pressure had failed,

³⁷ Dalderby, *Register*, f. 43.

³⁸ *Ibid.* f. 170v.

a rather sad reflection upon a society which appeared, like S. Paul's Athenian audience, to be 'in all things very religious'.³⁹ The fault did not lie with the bishops, who were for the most part good men sincerely anxious to carry out, by themselves or by carefully chosen subordinates, such pastoral duties as had been laid upon them. If the Church imposed its supreme penalty too freely, it was not because the senior clergy were too slack but because they were too thorough, and in their determination to maintain law and order they used the sentence of excommunication so freely that at last it degenerated from a tremendous spiritual sanction into a minor inconvenience.

³⁹ Acts, xvii. 22.

THE DIARY OF JOHN EVELYN

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THIS IS A MONUMENTAL WORK,¹ which does tremendous honour to Evelyn. He has been edited with the care and devotion normally accorded to a major classic. Evelyn's deletions and afterthoughts are recorded with scrupulous editorial exactness. Even the various symbols which he used to conceal the name of Mrs. Godolphin have been reproduced as faithfully as is possible in type. The amount of information contained in the notes is quite staggering. To take only one example: how much editorial labour, or specialized editorial knowledge, must lie behind the footnote to a passage where Evelyn records a sermon on 1 Kings 21. 20, preached by 'Dr. '! Mr. de Beer has identified a sermon on this text 'corresponding closely to Evelyn's report', in the *Select Sermons* of Nicholas Brady, published in 1713, nine years after the entry in Evelyn's Diary (V. 556).

It is monumental: it is technically superb; but does Evelyn really deserve all this? It sounds ungrateful even to ask such a question when reviewing what has clearly been the labour of love of a lifetime; but it can hardly be avoided. Evelyn is not a great literary figure, not a Bunyan, a Milton or a Marvell, to cite authors who have already appeared in this series of Oxford English Texts. His Diary contains much matter of historical interest, but nearly all of this is already available in Bray's edition of 1819. Indeed, ironically, the present edition increases our respect for Bray. He printed slightly more than half the Diary, but excluded practically nothing of real interest.

In this edition Mr. de Beer has identified virtually every character mentioned, or has recorded inability to identify in the rare cases where he has failed. He has also whenever possible identified Evelyn's source—e.g. when he takes a news item from a journal, or copies out information from a guide book. In Vol. II, which contains Evelyn's youthful journeyings on the continent, this is really carried to excess. Note after note gives at full length the original passages from travel books which Evelyn translated and copied. Mr. de Beer's ingenuity and industry are admirable; but are they not superfluous? Could we not just have been told in general that most of the diarist's topographical notes and rhaps-

¹ *The Diary of John Evelyn*, edited by E. S. de Beer. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 6 vols. 1955. £15 15s.

sodies are cribbed; what guide books were used for which town; and then have had our attention drawn (as Mr. de Beer does draw it) to the occasional point of his own which Evelyn makes? Any scholar studying continental travel will have to refer to the originals; no one else can conceivably be interested in Evelyn's errors of transcription.

Wherein lies the value of Evelyn's Diary for historians? Not in what it tells us of his life, for that was uneventful. Not in Evelyn's political career, for that was undistinguished. Not even in his vivid account of the Fire of London, nor in his set characters—of Charles II, Clarendon, Clifford, Arlington, Danby, Somers—justly famous though these are. Much more valuable is the cumulative effect of the Diary in conveying political atmosphere; it is where Evelyn is least self-conscious that he most helps us to understand the times in which he wrote. He uses, for instance, the phrase 'prime minister' in 1677, and reveals casually that in 1684 there was no public library in London (IV. 118, 368).

Evelyn's grandfather was principal gunpowder manufacturer to Queen Elizabeth, and his uncle continued to enjoy a virtual monopoly until 1637. The diarist's father was a landed gentleman whose income Evelyn estimated at £4000 a year. He was 'wonderfully prosperous in all his Undertakings, the more remarkable, as without the accession of any lucrative Office, he pass'd his whole time in the Country, & in good husbandry' (I. 2). When sheriff of Sussex and Surrey in 1633, he was attended by 116 liveried servants in green satin doublets, nearly four times the normal retinue (II. 11). In the civil war Evelyn was a royalist, as befitted the descendant of monopolists. But his royalism, though we hear much of it in the Diary, was not that of the warriors or the martyrs. He spent a day or two with the royal army at the beginning of the war, but did not follow its retreat to Gloucester. For this would have 'left both me and my brothers expos'd to ruine, without any advantage to his Majestie', their estates being in areas controlled by Parliament (II. 79). From November 1643 till February 1652 Evelyn was abroad. He then returned to compound for his estates, 'there being now so little appearance of any change for the better, all being intirely in the rebells hands' (III. 58-9). In December 1659 he played a small part in politics, trying to persuade Colonel Morley, then Lieutenant of the Tower, to declare for the King, 'to the greate hazard of my life; but the Colonel had been my Scholefellow, & I knew would not betray me'. Morley however waited too long to see how the cat would jump: five months later Evelyn had to help him to purchase a pardon for £1000: 'ô the sottish omission of this gent!' (III. 237-8, 241, 245).

Mr. de Beer's skill has established that nothing in the Diary before about 1684 is necessarily what Evelyn wrote down at the time. This deprives it of the freshness of Pepys's, and we never quite know whether we are not reading the wisdom that comes after the event. It is also difficult to distinguish political disapproval from Evelyn's own reluctance

to accept the responsibilities of office. He 'industriously avoided' becoming a J.P. (III. 434). The most important post he ever held was that of commissioner for the sick and wounded in the two Dutch wars, though he was also employed to write against the Netherlanders (IV. 41). In February 1690 he thought he might have been made a Commissioner of the Privy Seal 'had I thought it seasonable, & would have ingaged my friends' (V. 7). His outlook was probably typical of that of many inadequately rewarded ex-royalists. In retrospect at least he was very critical of Charles II, 'govern'd by wicked favorits' (I. 14). The Diary is non-committal about the events of 1688; and Evelyn's attitude towards William III tended to vary with the latter's military success. In July 1693 the Diarist was asking God to avert 'the deserved consequence' of 'our folly & precipitous Change &c.', and such comments continued into 1694 (V. 148, 152, 166, 169, 205, 402-3). But as the government won through Evelyn's acceptance became less grudging. His loyalty was to church, order and property rather than to the person of the King. Old royalists with this outlook could gloomily accept 1688 as the lesser evil, just as Evelyn had formerly been prepared to accept the Commonwealth. What indeed could one do when 'all the eminent nobility & persons of quality throout England declare for the Protestant Religion & Laws, & go to meete the Prince?' (IV. 609).

For men of Evelyn's station the Interregnum remained as a horrifying recollection, a time when 'people Mechanic' had risen against their betters; when 'Levellers & others of that dangerous rabble . . . would have all alike' (V. 263; III. 543). Even Shaftesbury assured Evelyn, in confidence, that he would support monarchy 'to his last breath, as having scene & felt the misery of being under a Mechanic Tyrannie &c.' (IV. 328). Yet, strongly though Evelyn believed in 'the Lawfulness, decentnesse & necessitie of subordinate degrees & ranks of men & servants' as against the Levellers (III. 543), the Diary records many facts which show how times were changing. In 1695 Evelyn's conviction of 'the wonderfull prodigality & decay of Families' was confirmed by the number of bills passed 'for unsettling Estates' (V. 209). On many earlier occasions he had noted the financial difficulties which brought old families into dependence on new wealth. Sir Josiah Child, 'most sordidly avaricious', made enough from East India trade to marry his daughter to the eldest son of a Duke 'with £30,000 portion at present, & various expectations' (IV. 306). Sir Stephen Fox, after enjoying the office of Paymaster to the Forces, was able to redeem 'my Lord Cornwallis's intangl'd estate . . . by marrying his Eldest Daughter with a vast Portion'. When, in 1681, Lord Sunderland was 'much sunke in his Estate, by Gaming & other prodigalities', Evelyn tried to persuade Sir Stephen that 'it would be his glory to set up the Earle of Sunderlands family againe' by marrying his younger daughter to Sunderland's son, despite the latter's 'early inclinations to vice'. But Sir Stephen, 'who I

am sure might have had his choice in any of the best families in England', was too wily to be caught (IV. 245-7).

Money already mattered more than rank. The Duke of Norfolk told Evelyn 'he would part with & sell any thing for mony', excepting his wife. The diarist noted that the Duchess was within earshot when this was said, and added with a rare glimmer of humour that he would have sold her first if the choice had been his (IV. 312). Evelyn's views on the peerage in general may be deduced from his aside in 1680 that the Earl of Essex was 'not illiterate beyond the rate of most noble-men in this age' (IV. 201). To his own elder daughter Evelyn 'freely gave her her own Choice' in matrimony: but this seems to have been limited to 'foure Gent: of Quality' and influenced by his confidence in her discretion (IV. 425). The less discreet younger daughter found no such tolerance when she eloped with 'a young fellow . . . in no condition sortable to hers'. She was cut out of her father's will (IV. 460-2).

Even in spheres where Evelyn had first-hand experience the Diary is often disappointing. He might have told us much about the Royal Society and its members, but in fact we get very little. Evelyn refused to be President of the Society, hinting in 1690 that his reasons were political. But he had already rejected the office in 1682 (IV. 296; V. 39)—probably from the same ineffective diffidence as prevented him having a successful political career. The impression one gets is that Evelyn was at best an amateur dabbler in science and philosophy. He believed that a fast might change the weather, and that comets 'may be warnings from God' (III. 312; IV. 235; cf. V. 2, 133). When he met Hobbes in 1651, all Evelyn has to record—at great length—is that from the philosopher's window they had a view of 'the whole equipage & glorious Cavalcade' of Louis XIV celebrating his majority. The only other reference to a meeting with Hobbes is even less informative (III. 41-3, 163).

But Evelyn was much more interested in religion than science. The main respect in which this edition differs from that of Bray is in its inclusion of Evelyn's notes of sermons. From his early sixties these notes get progressively longer. We thus have a sort of index of the type of sermon that was preached to wealthy congregations. It is of course highly selective, and we should not read too much into what Evelyn happened to record of the sermons he happened to hear. But some trends are perhaps worthy of comment.

First, Evelyn confirms the accepted picture of the evolution of sermon styles from 'Bishop Andrews's method, full of *Logical* divisions, in short & broken periods, & latine sentences, now quite out of fashion' to 'the plaine & practical' preaching, which had originally been the hall-mark of Puritans. The only surprising thing is the lateness of the comment (July 1683; but compare the entry for March 3, 1673—IV. 330, V. 166). Secondly, we note the extent to which the pulpit was still used as a vehicle for political propaganda. This was especially true, naturally, of

the special services on November 5th, January 30th and May 29th. In 1684 the last-named date was used by a preacher at the Temple for 'a Theologico-political sermon, in order to obedience & Union, . . . perstringing our present dissenters' (IV. 381). In 1692 Bishop Tenison thought that 'the monstrous wicckednesse of mens lives in this nation ever since' January 30th, 1649, was the result of Charles I's execution, which 'did still lie heavy on this Nation' (V. 87). But here we can detect a change. In 1680 Evelyn first complained that the congregation at Deptford on the anniversary of the Restoration was so thin that the vicar did not preach: 'so soone do we slight & forget Gods benefits' (IV. 204). By 1692 'no manner of notice' was taken of this anniversary (V. 102). In 1702 the special service for November 5th similarly failed to produce a congregation at Deptford, and was postponed till the following Sunday (V. 520). In 1689 the services for King Charles the Martyr 'were curtailed & mutilated' (IV. 620); by 1700 William Stephens went so far in preaching before the House of Commons on this anniversary as to argue that 'the observation of that day was never intended out of any detestation of his Murder, but to be a document to other Kings & Rulers, how they ought to behave themselves towards their Subjects, lest they came to the like End' (V. 378).

Many sermons gave 'the reasons of the preference of *Monarchical* above all other formes of Government', most of them based on Filmer's patriarchal theory (IV. 135, 336; V. 165-6). In 1665 the Master of Emmanuel preached against Levellers and for social subordination (III. 543). Social themes seem to have greatly pre-occupied preachers. 'That it was lawfull to be rich', 'that Sanctified Riches were marks of favour from God', and that 'Piety & religion contributed to thriving & happiness even in this world' were familiar themes, laboured alike by an Anglican in exile in 1650, by Evelyn's vicar at Deptford 22 years later, by a London schoolmaster in 1688 and by a future bishop in 1690 (III. 11, 600-1; IV. 585; V. 73; cf. IV. 73). The vicar of St. Martin in the Fields in 1701 told the very poor that it became them 'to be humble, not to murmur, to labour & worke': the rich he reminded of their charitable duty 'of reproving dissolute persons, & the punishment of incorrigible lazy beggers &c.' (V. 444, 451). It is hardly surprising, in a society of this sort, that a particularly despicable assassin declared on the scaffold that he 'hoped & believed God would deal with him like a Gentleman' (IV. 274). Certainly gentlemen were more likely to get a reprieve from the King in such cases (IV. 401).

But ministers had to tread warily. At Wotton Dr. Bohun upset Evelyn by a sermon 'Concerning the pride & Luxury of Apparell, which could be applyed to none save my Wife & Daughter, there being none in all the Parish else, but meane people, who had no more than sufficient to cloth them meanelly enough'. Evelyn took this ill, and hard words passed between him and the rector (V. 542).

Particularly noticeable in Evelyn's notes of sermons after about 1690

is the enthusiasm with which ministers put the fear of hell into their congregations. Whether this was a new development, or merely increasingly recorded by Evelyn, cannot be said. But, for example, between July 3rd and August 10th, 1692, Evelyn heard ten sermons 'shewing the miserable condition of the damned', 'the greate danger of not taking warning by others Calamities', etc. (V. 107-13). Life cannot have been very cheerful for those who took their ministers seriously. Let us hope they were not too many. In the following year, between July 30th and October 1st, there were again nine sermons on 'the perpetual stings of Gilt, no way to be alaiied'; on 'the terrors & terrible effects of the end of irrepentant sinners'; 'the horror & perpetuity of the Torment & slavery under which all sinners are even in this life'; 'a lively description of the day of Judgement'; 'a very terrible description of the tremendous Sentence & Misery' (V. 149-54). One is rather relieved that in his later years Evelyn was protected by deafness, and that on innumerable occasions he has to record 'drowsinesse suddenly surprised me'. This habit, 'which I formerly censured in some others' (IV. 280), was one which the curate at Deptford seems to have induced more regularly than his ecclesiastical superiors.

What of Evelyn himself? Even in the Diary he does not figure as an entirely admirable character. His snobbery must have been displeasing even in that age. In the depth of his grief at the death of his beloved eldest daughter he was still able to name all the 'noble persons who honor'd her Obsequies' by sending coaches (IV. 430). He prayed God to forgive his sister-in-law when she cut off an entail to the profit of her second husband and to the disadvantage of her first husband's family (V. 86). When the lady died who had 'had a most tender care of me during my childhood', Evelyn smugly congratulated himself on his feelings of sorrow, even though by her death 'I was eased of a rent charge of £60 per ann.' (III. 25).

More difficult to assess is the diarist's spasmodic humanity. He would without compunction turn an inn-keeper's daughter out of her bed in the middle of the night when he wanted it (II. 519), but so no doubt would nearly all seventeenth-century gentlemen. But was the pity which he expressed for the galley slaves at Marseilles in 1644 genuine, or an academic exercise? (II. 165). He went to see public torture at Paris in 1651, 'but the spectacle was so uncomfortable, that I was not able to stay the sight of another' (III. 29). (Here at least the comment sounds unfeigned.) He was reluctant to give evidence against a highwayman who had robbed him, because it might lead to his execution (III. 73). He objected strongly to public baiting of horses for profit (III. 492). Snob though he was, he dined (in the safe company of the Earl of Ossory, it is true) at the marriage of two of their servants (IV. 194). He undoubtedly showed great courage during the Plague, though it was moderated by a sensible refusal to go to church when the disease was at its height (III. 413, 447-8, 462). He appears to have had no sense of

humour at all: yet one hesitates in assessing the following passage: 'Dr. Jessup . . . preached . . . the shortest discourse I ever heard: but what was defective in the amplitude of his sermon, we found supplied in the largeness, & convenience of the Parsonage house, which the Doctor (who had in spiritual advancements, at least £600 per Annum) had new-built, fit for any person of quality to live in' (IV. 593).

On the evidence of the Diary alone we might just give Evelyn the benefit of the doubt on such marginal issues: we might continue to think of him as an agreeably sententious snob with a soft heart. But the Diary is not a naïve self-revelation, a record of spiritual struggles and defeats, like the journals of the Puritan ministers or of Pepys. It is a carefully compiled semi-public document, in which we see Evelyn as he wished posterity to see him, warts removed. Unfortunately for Evelyn, Mr. Hiscock's *John Evelyn and his Family Circle* ² has now revealed something of what the Diarist really was. By a most skilful reconstruction from the correspondence, the Diary and the *Life of Mrs. Godolphin*, Mr. Hiscock has shown us the horrifying story which lies behind the moral platitudes of Evelyn's apotheosis of Mrs. Godolphin. A married man in his fifties, Evelyn established himself as a sort of spiritual mentor to the young and beautiful Margaret Blagge, and exploited this situation ruthlessly in an attempt to prevent her marrying the man she loved. After reading Mr. Hiscock's careful analysis one can never feel real respect or affection for Evelyn again. It is a pity that Mr. de Beer's edition of the Diary, whose solemnity would have delighted Evelyn, comes at a moment when his private reputation has been so finally blasted: it is bad luck too for Mr. de Beer, who 'abets Evelyn even to the extent of suppressing some 'indelicate' lines in a poem which he published in 1652 (I. 66, II. 355).

² *John Evelyn and his Family Circle*, by W. G. Hiscock. 1956.

THE JAPANESE ALLIANCE AND THE ANGLO-FRENCH AGREEMENT OF 1904

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THE SIGNIFICANCE in world history of the Anglo-Japanese alliance, or agreement as it was officially described, needs no emphasis. For Japan it marked recognition as a great power, and provided the diplomatic basis of a remarkable achievement. The consequences of the alliance were no less decisive for Great Britain; for this first step from isolation was an important factor influencing the course of the diplomatic revolution which in the succeeding years radically altered the European situation. In particular, the agreement with France in 1904, if not an inevitable result of the alliance, was largely shaped by its existence. The testimony of Paul Cambon confirms the opinion of those historians who have emphasized the bearing of Far Eastern developments upon Anglo-French relations. There, in his opinion, lay the explanation of the *rapprochement*.¹

The agreement with Japan provided that, if either of the contracting parties in defence of its special interests in the Far East as defined in the treaty were involved in war with two powers, the other was to give armed support. Thus if France joined Russia against Japan, Britain would be drawn into the struggle. To neutralize this possibility a complement to the Japanese alliance was required in Europe.² The Anglo-French agreement of 8 April 1904 appears as the logical and necessary policy of insurance which enabled Britain to inflict by proxy a severe check upon Russia while minimizing the danger of an extension of the war to the allies of the belligerents.

In retrospect the Anglo-Japanese alliance seems to have been designed to provide the conditions necessary to enable Japan to fight Russia. In April 1904, when hostilities were in progress, Lansdowne, the foreign secretary, wrote to King Edward that the alliance

although not intended to encourage the Japanese Government to resort to extremities had, and was sure to have, the effect of making Japan feel that she might try conclusions with her great rival in the Far East—free from all risk

¹ Paul Cambon, *Correspondance 1870-1924*, 1940-6, ii. 156.

² E. N. Anderson, *The First Moroccan Crisis 1904-1906*, 1930, p. 68.

of a European coalition such as that which had on a previous occasion deprived her of the fruits of victory.³

But though the advantages that might be drawn from a Japanese victory over Russia were not unperceived,⁴ to force a conflict was not the purpose of the British government in making the alliance. Nothing in the attitude of Lansdowne almost to the eve of war in February 1904 reveals him as contemplating the growing tension with equanimity. The initial objects of the alliance were precautionary—to steady Japanese policy towards Russia,⁵ to forestall a Russo-Japanese *rapprochement* which would have destroyed Britain's situation in the Far East, to improve her bargaining position and to facilitate a peaceful settlement by bringing Russia to reason.⁶ It had been made reluctantly after other means—direct agreement with Russia and co-operation with Germany and the United States—had failed.

The conclusion of the new alliance did not, therefore, immediately bring Britain closer to France. The weakest flank of the British position was now protected, while Russia, in face of the changed situation, might well prove more amenable. A continental combination ranging Germany with France and Russia against Britain and Japan was unlikely. The course of the South African war had shown the difficulties in the way of such a grouping and a note of confidence had appeared in the British attitude during the discussions with Germany in 1901.⁷ Lansdowne, himself, if not convinced of the wisdom of maintaining isolation, inclined to the view that it would never be to the advantage of Germany to let Britain 'go under' before a European coalition.⁸ It was, therefore, unnecessary to purchase friendship by concessions. This seemed all the more so since the conclusion of the Anglo-Japanese alliance was followed by a relaxation of tension in the Far East. The Russo-Chinese convention of 8 April 1902, providing for the evacuation of Manchuria, appeared to indicate a change in Russian policy. If Britain waited, improved relations with Russia might come. In such an event France, tied as she was to the Russian chariot and with the lost provinces as a permanent obstacle to Franco-German *rapprochement*, would certainly be brought in. Considerations such as these, at all events, seem best to explain the fact that not only was there no turn to France on the part of Britain in 1902, but that the suggestions for agreement on Morocco and Siam put forward in the summer of that year by Paul Cambon, the French ambassador,⁹ were not taken up.

It has been suggested that a leakage of information about the conversations with Cambon alarmed Lansdowne and brought to a prema-

³ Lord Newton, *Lord Lansdowne*, 1929, p. 309.

⁴ G. P. Gooch and H. W. V. Temperley (eds.), *British Documents on the Origins of the War* (hereafter cited as *B.D.*), 1927-38, ii. no. 54, memorandum by Bertie, March 11, 1901.

⁵ *B.D.*, ii. no. 148.

⁶ W. L. Langer, *The Diplomacy of Imperialism*, 2nd. ed., 1951, pp. 782-4.

⁷ *B.D.*, ii. nos. 86, 91.

⁸ *B.D.*, ii. no. 92; Newton, *op. cit.* p. 247.

⁹ *B.D.*, ii. nos. 321, 322; *Documents Diplomatiques Français 1871-1914* (hereafter cited as *D.D.F.*) (Paris, 1929-), 2^e série, ii. no. 369.

ture end discussions which he had been ready to continue.¹⁰ The leakage was, indeed, followed by an enquiry as to the conversations from Austria, acting no doubt on behalf of Germany, and by an appeal from the sultan of Morocco. The sultan requested a guarantee of the integrity of his dominions by Britain, alone or jointly with Germany, for a period of seven years, within which he undertook to introduce reforms. In default of British assent he threatened to turn to Germany. It seems more probable, however, that the principal reasons for the rejection of the French overtures on Morocco—clearly the vital point for France—must be sought elsewhere. It is unlikely that, if the British government had been inclined to a general settlement with France, the prospect of intervention by Germany would have been any more a deterrent in 1902 than it was when negotiations were eventually joined a year later. Cambon put forward a number of explanations to account for the British refusal to take up his suggestions.¹¹ Of these the most convincing is that they had met with opposition in the cabinet.

It is true that Joseph Chamberlain, the dominating figure in British politics, had undergone a rapid conversion in favour of closer relations with France following the failure of the discussions with Germany in 1901.¹² It is doubtful, however, if his views were representative of responsible opinion, which seems to have been less inclined than Chamberlain himself to rush from one grouping to the other. In September 1902, Francis Bertie, then assistant under-secretary in the foreign office, told Mensdorff, of the Austrian embassy, 'The old game begins anew. France wants to play England off against Germany, and Germany England against France. Both seek to sow discord.'¹³ Within the cabinet, whatever the attitude of Chamberlain, there was still an influential group, Lansdowne among them, which continued to look to Germany as Britain's closest partner. The cabinet's support of Anglo-German co-operation in the Venezuelan debt question and in the Bagdad railway venture, despite Chamberlain's opposition,¹⁴ showed their strength.

The grounds for rejection of the French overtures lay probably more in general policy than in any special importance attached by Britain to the maintenance of the *status quo* in Morocco. For some time British policy towards that country had lacked clear direction. Chamberlain before 1902 had proposed an Anglo-German partition of the coastal regions. Salisbury, on the other hand, had let matters drift, looking, it appears, to an eventual bargain with France.¹⁵ Its strategic significance,

¹⁰ J. J. Mathews, *Egypt and the Formation of the Anglo-French Entente of 1904*, 1939, pp. 36-9;

A. J. P. Taylor, 'British Policy in Morocco, 1886-1902', *English Historical Review*, lxi. 370-3.

¹¹ *D.D.F.*, 2^e série, ii. nos. 456, 529; Cambon, *op. cit.* ii. 82.

¹² H. von Eckardstein, *Ten Years at the Court of St. James*, 1922, p. 228-9; *D.D.F.*, 2^e série, ii. no. 423.

¹³ A. F. Pribram, *England and the International Policy of the European Great Powers, 1871-1914*, 1931, pp. 95-6.

¹⁴ J. Amery, *Life of Joseph Chamberlain*, 1951, iv. 201; Newton, *op. cit.* p. 254.

¹⁵ Taylor, *op. cit.* pp. 364-74.

however, was well appreciated. Indeed under Lansdowne there had been a return to the old policy of strengthening the *status quo* by supporting reforms. To accept the French suggestions for a hypothetical but fairly certain partition of Morocco between France and Spain, even with the safeguards offered for Britain's strategic interests, was to run the risk that at some time in the future France might dominate the coasts as well as the interior. In 1902 there was no compelling reason for Britain to acquiesce in the French proposals. An Egyptian settlement, the obvious balance to a renunciation at the other end of the Mediterranean, was not mentioned by Lansdowne in the conversations with Cambon. The British position in Egypt, as the Fashoda crisis had demonstrated was, in essentials, secure. The French could cause difficulties, but they were limited to a policy of pinpricks, irritating but not mortal. A settlement with France covering the Egyptian question would be advantageous, but was not essential. British reserve towards the suggestions that the French had put forward on several occasions since 1898 for a wide-ranging settlement of outstanding issues, was not to be removed until considerations of general policy made a recognition of French predominance in Morocco—now clearly revealed as the goal of Delcassé—worthwhile.

Lansdowne's accounts of his conversations with Cambon before, as well as after, the leakage, show him as cooler towards the French proposals for Morocco than do Cambon's reports.¹⁶ His rejection of the overtures in October 1902 was in unequivocal terms, giving no indication that temporary circumstances alone held the British government back. Nevertheless he took care not to enter into any commitments towards the sultan which might limit his freedom of action with regard to Morocco. If the French overtures were rejected, so, too, was the sultan's request for a guarantee. He was reassured as to British policy and advised to divide the proposed Moorish loan and railway concessions among British, French and German interests.¹⁷ Britain, though prepared to co-operate with France in Morocco, was not ready, so long as external factors did not alter, to abandon the *status quo* there. French aims, therefore, were blocked.

Anglo-French relations continued to improve in the ensuing months, but Cambon's renewed hints as to the advisability of an agreement on Morocco brought no tangible result. King Edward's visit to Paris in May 1903 owed its scope to the personal initiative of the king. It was significant in that it symbolized a growing cordiality, but no minister accompanied him and no important political conversations took place. When President Loubet returned the visit in July, Delcassé, the foreign minister, was in his suite. At the express request of Cambon a private conversation was arranged between the two ministers in which the heads of a comprehensive colonial settlement were discussed.¹⁸ Throughout

¹⁶ *B.D.*, ii. nos. 321, 322, 325; *D.D.F.*, 2^e série, nos. 369, 456.

¹⁷ *B.D.*, ii. no. 328.

¹⁸ Cambon, *op. cit.* ii. 95; *B.D.*, ii. no. 357.

the lead had come from France. The Lansdowne-Delcassé conversation was the starting point of the negotiation eventually to issue in the agreements of 8 April 1904.

The decision of the British government to undertake now a settlement for which it had shown little disposition a year previously, reflected the changing international situation. The relaxation in tension in the Far East which had followed the conclusion of the Anglo-Japanese alliance had not been maintained. It became plain in the spring of 1903 that Russia did not intend to implement her undertaking to evacuate Manchuria and in the ensuing months the clouds steadily darkened. Japan endeavoured to reach agreement with Russia for recognition of her special interests in Korea, but time went by without success. Lansdowne showed acute alarm at the prospect of war.¹⁹ His attitude from October to the end of December indicates very clearly that the desire for a peaceful solution with the preservation of the *status quo* and *rapprochement* with Russia was uppermost in his mind. War opened dangerous possibilities. Much expert opinion believed that Japan was likely to be defeated,²⁰ in which case Britain, it seemed, must intervene or see the destruction of her position in the Far East.

In this situation the advantages of close relations with France were obvious. Paris could act as a brake on St. Petersburg and might prove to be the bridge to the long-desired settlement with Russia. On the other hand, if war came, the removal of long-standing causes of friction between Britain and France would neutralize the danger that the two powers might be drawn in to support their allies, a catastrophe from which Germany alone would benefit. The Far Eastern crisis, in fact, forced a reconsideration of British policy.²¹ From October to December 1903, Lansdowne pressed for speedy conclusion of the Anglo-French negotiations—partly for reasons arising from domestic politics, but also, Cambon felt, because he was influenced by the Far Eastern situation.²² At the same time he urged Delcassé to do what he could to moderate Russia's attitude,²³ requests to which the French foreign minister was all the more ready to respond in that he, too, looked anxiously at the Far East. Apart from the danger that France might herself become involved, it was in Delcassé's interest to prevent war on other counts. A victorious Russia would be, even more than before, the senior partner in the Dual Alliance, a defeated Russia would seriously weaken it. With Germany eager to exploit the interest of France in remaining neutral, with the breakdown of the Russian alliance and a revival of the *Dreikaiserbund* as possibilities,²⁴ the Far Eastern tension multiplied reasons for France to add new friends to old.

While Lansdowne's most pressing anxiety as events developed was

¹⁹ Cambon, *op. cit.* ii. 117.

²⁰ *B.D.*, ii. nos. 241, 267; Newton, *op. cit.* p. 307.

²¹ Anderson, *op. cit.* pp. 83-4. Cf. A. J. P. Taylor, *The Struggle for Mastery in Europe, 1848-1918*, 1954, p. 412.

²² *B.D.*, ii. no. 371; *D.D.F.*, 2^e série, iv. nos. 27, 78, 101; Cambon, *op. cit.* ii. 99, 102-3, 117.

²³ *B.D.*, ii. nos. 250, 257, 259.

²⁴ Cambon, *op. cit.* ii. 104, 111, 115.

certainly the danger of war, he may also have been influenced towards settlement with France by the possibility of a Russo-Japanese *rapprochement*. The appointment in December 1902 of Baron Rosen to replace Iswolsky as minister in Tokio had seemed to indicate that Russia desired to improve her relations with Japan.²⁵ The triumph of the expansionist group thwarted the advocates of moderation in Russia, but in Japan a small though influential party with Marquis Ito as its leading figure, continued to look to a friendly understanding with Russia.²⁶ In the summer of 1903 Japan appeared to be hesitating as to her course of action. The French minister in Tokio informed Delcassé in June 1903 that while public opinion in Japan was strongly anti-Russian, some newspapers took seriously the fact that a small group of statesmen and politicians did not share the confidence of the nation in the Anglo-Japanese alliance. In his opinion this party of conciliation might well gain the day.²⁷ The despatches of MacDonald, the British minister in Tokio, printed in *British Documents*, contain few references to the divisions in governing circles. In September 1903, however, he reported, not for the first time, that Ito

is strongly in favour of an arrangement with Russia at almost any price, and I have been informed that he has stated that the present perplexities of the Japanese Government, and the action of Russia in Manchuria and on the frontiers of Corea is the direct outcome of the Anglo-Japanese alliance.²⁸

Ito's view, MacDonald added, was not that of the government or of the nation.

Even so, knowledge of Ito's great prestige and recollection of his rôle during the negotiations for the alliance with Japan, coupled with the visit of General Kuropatkin, the Russian minister of war, to Japan in June 1903 may well have disturbed Lansdowne. He recognized that Japan had some reason for considering that Britain had not given her sufficient support since the conclusion of the alliance.²⁹ Certainly he does not seem to have been entirely easy about the course of Japanese policy. He would have preferred co-operation between the allies and the United States in the Far Eastern crisis to the bilateral 'friendly negotiation' with Russia upon which Japan was determined.³⁰ The memorandum of 16 July in which the British government conveyed to Japan its approval of the proposed Russo-Japanese negotiations reflects this uneasiness. It pointed out that a separate arrangement between Russia and Japan upon Manchuria and Korea 'might be held to denote a weakening in the good understanding which has hitherto prevailed between Japan and Great Britain . . .' It further emphasized that the British government

²⁵ *D.D.F.*, 2^e série, ii. no. 516.

²⁶ *B.D.*, ii. nos. 284, 287; Baron Rosen, *Forty Years of Diplomacy*, 1922, i. 230; T. Takeuchi, *War and Diplomacy in the Japanese Empire*, 1935, pp. 137-41.

²⁷ *D.D.F.*, 2^e série, iii. no. 310.

²⁸ *B.D.*, ii. no. 246. This despatch was received in the Foreign Office on 3 November 1903.

²⁹ *B.D.*, ii. no. 267.

³⁰ *B.D.*, ii. nos. 237, 238.

regard it, moreover, of the utmost importance that the negotiation with Russia should not be conducted in a manner which might suggest that the Anglo-Japanese Agreement had been in any way impaired, and they will be glad if the Japanese Government will continue to keep His Majesty's Government fully informed of the progress of their communications with the Russian Government.³¹

The aim of British policy was to preserve peace and maintain the balance of power in the Far East. A Russo-Japanese *rapprochement* would, indeed, ensure peace, but it might leave Britain high and dry. In the end Russian policy enabled the military party in Japan to gain the upper hand, but relations between Britain and Japan were never close.³²

By the end of December 1903 the British government faced a dilemma. There was now no danger of a Russo-Japanese agreement to the possible detriment of British interests. War in the Far East was clearly in sight. On 11 December the cabinet had considered the situation and Lansdowne had been authorized to point out unofficially to Cambon the dangerous possibilities it contained and to stress the interest of France and Britain in keeping the peace.³³ Delcassé, indeed, had done and was to do what he could, but he had to step warily. The issue to be resolved was the position which Britain was to take in face of the approaching conflict. If war were to be averted, it was clear that it could only be through concessions by Japan. Lansdowne's own inclination was to advise this course. He feared that Japan would be crushed and that Britain would be forced by public opinion to intervene. To avoid this danger, he was prepared, by the end of December, to attempt the mediation from which he had hitherto refrained.³⁴ Yet to do so was to risk the existence of the alliance and to revive the danger of a Russo-Japanese *rapprochement*.

At this time of decision the prime minister grasped the threads firmly. Balfour did not accept the prevailing view of Japanese military capacity. He refused to believe that Russia would be able to gain an overwhelming victory and he argued that British interest and obligation must be limited to the terms of the agreement—neutrality so long as no other powers intervened. He did not believe that Britain would be forced to act because of the danger to her own interests. His appraisal of the situation recalled in some respects the view of Bertie in 1901 that a Russo-Japanese war might not be without advantage to Britain. 'The interest of this country,' Balfour wrote to the king on 28 December 1903, 'is now and always *Peace*.'

But a war between Japan and Russia, in which we were not actively concerned, and in which Japan did not suffer serious defeat, would not be an unmixed curse. Russia . . . would have created for herself an implacable and

³¹ *B.D.*, ii. no. 239.

³² *D.D.F.*, 2^e série, iv. nos. 173, 289; Cambon, *op. cit.* ii. 123; A. L. P. Dennis, *Adventures in American Diplomacy, 1898-1906*, 1928, p. 385.

³³ *B.D.*, ii. no. 259; B. E. C. Dugdale, *Life of Arthur James Balfour*, 1936, i. 376.

³⁴ Dugdale, *op. cit.* i. 378-9.

unsleeping enemy. . . . Mr. Balfour concludes from all this that she would be much easier to deal with, both in Asia and in Europe, than she is at present. For these reasons Mr. Balfour would do everything to maintain peace, *short* of wounding the susceptibilities of the Japanese people.³⁵

Balfour's arguments against mediation, repeated in cabinet memoranda, evidently carried the day.³⁶ In mid-January Cambon noticed a change in Lansdowne. 'A month ago the idea of war greatly disturbed him. Today when I speak to him of holding Japan back he replies, "I do not encourage her but how can I restrain her since she puts forward just demands which are the concern of all the Powers?"' It is true that a little later Lansdowne again veered toward mediation in Tokio,³⁷ but he could have got no support in the cabinet, for though Delcassé in January 1904 worked to bring Russia and Japan together, no attempt at mediation was made by Britain.

The clarification of British policy may have reacted adversely upon the negotiations with France. The sombre background seemed to provide compelling reasons for agreement, yet discussions came almost to a halt in January 1904. Bargaining throughout had been hard, but by the beginning of December agreement in principle had been reached on the main issues, Egypt and Morocco. Considerable difficulty arose in the ensuing weeks over the question of recompense for French surrenders in Newfoundland. By 18 January, with Delcassé's refusal to accept a modest compensation in the Sokoto region, a deadlock was reached.³⁸

A settlement with France remained desirable, both intrinsically and in view of the general situation. Cambon reported on 11 February that Lansdowne seemed regretful that 'at this moment' difficulties were holding up the agreement.³⁹ But the cabinet, in December, seems to have taken the view that the danger of French intervention in a Russo-Japanese conflict would arise only if Britain were drawn in to support Japan.⁴⁰ The decision to maintain neutrality and to let things take their course made it unnecessary to placate France excessively in order to hasten agreement, the more so since it was abundantly clear that the French, with so much to lose, would not themselves rush in to the Far Eastern imbroglio.⁴¹ The deadlock in the negotiations was broken by a moderate increase in the British offer but even then progress was slow. Once war came in the Far East and French neutrality was declared, Delcassé's bargaining position was still weaker. His last-minute efforts to obtain further concessions were fore-doomed.

The agreement formally signed on 8 April 1904 registered a settlement acceptable to both parties. The centre-piece, the declaration in Egypt and Morocco, recognized a balance of interests at opposite ends

³⁵ Dugdale, *op. cit.* i. 378.

³⁶ *Ibid.* i. 376-83.

³⁷ Cambon, *op. cit.* ii. 110, 112, 117-18; *B.D.*, ii. no. 284.

³⁸ *B.D.*, ii. nos. 382, 383, 384, 386.

³⁹ *D.D.F.*, 2^e série, iv. no. 263.

⁴⁰ Dugdale, *op. cit.* i. 376.

⁴¹ Cambon, *op. cit.* ii. 117; *Die Grosse Politik*, xix (i). no. 5931.

of the Mediterranean. The setting off of one against the other had been several times suggested before 1904 and had, indeed, been put forward in the British press during the Fashoda crisis.⁴² By 1902 Delcassé was ready for far-reaching discussions. He met initially with little response. Within twelve months, however, the situation had changed. The opportunity of 'liquidating the Egyptian mortgage', the strong anti-German and pro-French currents running in British public opinion, the success of King Edward's visit to Paris, all contributed to the new atmosphere. But it was the Far Eastern situation, bringing with it, because of the alliance system, the possibility of a general war, which acted as a catalyst on British policy and was the principal factor leading to Lansdowne's acceptance in 1903 of a negotiation which he had declined in the previous year.

⁴² E. Halévy, *A History of the English People in the Nineteenth Century*, 2nd ed., 1951, v. 406 n.

THE SELECTION OF STUDENTS FOR HISTORY HONOURS

THE TIME is not long distant when the only serious problem in the selection of students for admission to an honours school of History concerned the award of scholarships. Practically any student who could satisfy the minimum entrance requirements and afford to pay the fees could secure admission. If he proved unsuited to an honours course he might at the end of his first year be transferred to a pass degree; or he might be accepted for an intermediate course in the first place and only go on to honours if he proved of satisfactory calibre in his preliminary year. Conditions have changed greatly since the war, and even if it is true that at present nearly all those who apply for admission finally secure a place, though not necessarily at the College of their first choice, there may be increasing pressure in the coming years. Already Colleges are paying much more attention to the selection of all students and not only of scholars. Since this is a matter of interest to Universities and Schools alike, it seemed that a brief discussion of the problems involved might not be out of place in the pages of *History*. Some University views are given below. It is hoped that expressions of opinion from teachers who have had experience of preparing students for admission to Universities will be elicited and can be printed in the next issue.

I

A. First, a note about the evidence on which selection is based at Birmingham.

(1) The Confidential Report of the Headmaster or Headmistress. At its best, this is very useful because it can throw light on the potentiality of the candidate, as distinct from his performance. In particular, it brings to our notice adverse circumstances of which account should be taken (e.g. bad health, unhappy homes) in assessing the significance of academic achievement. We are reluctant to regard an unfavourable report as decisive evidence against acceptance: it is better to make our own mistakes!

(2) The Interview. Expert enquiries (and experience) compel us to have reservations about its predictive value: on the one hand interviewers often differ considerably in their assessments of an individual; on the other, some candidates interview well, others badly—and it is not always easy to know why and to make appropriate allowances. But it is nevertheless a valuable instrument, partly for eliciting factual information about the person's interests, background, etc., and partly as a pointer to qualities of character—in a general sense—which are too elusive to express on paper.

(3) Academic Record, i.e. in effect examination results, which, for all their deficiencies, are the most reliable indication at our disposal of the intellectual

capacity of the candidate. We should prefer this piece of evidence if we had to rely on one piece of evidence exclusively. Interpreted in the light of (1) and (2), examination results are a fairly good guide to a person's mental measure. Better still—much better—if we ourselves set and marked papers (not necessarily on historical topics); but to organize full-scale entrance examinations would be a very big job.

B. The kind of evidence we look for.

(1) First, and much the most important, is evidence of adequate intellectual ability: for if this is lacking we cannot do much about it; we can, possibly, do something to remedy deficiencies which arise from lack of other qualities, e.g. interest or industry.

Here we necessarily rely mainly on (3): i.e. the overall performance in the G.C.E. examination at Advanced standard. We do not attribute any particular importance to a good result in History: a good performance in Latin and French, for example, may be held to be more creditable. Candidates must have Latin at Ordinary (or Advanced) level; and we like them to have taken another foreign language at Advanced: the Regulations require them to have passed in three Arts subjects at 'A' standard, one of which 'should' be History (though there is provision for admitting those who do not 'exactly' meet these requirements).

When we accept provisionally, the proviso usually is that 'sufficiently good' results are obtained. We do not define this term precisely. But it is meant to imply, at least, that bare passes in the three subjects will not do (unless there are extenuating considerations). We like to know that at this stage the candidate has something to spare; otherwise his prospects of coping satisfactorily with more advanced work are unpromising. There may also be an element of competition: it can happen that there are more candidates who satisfy the minimum requirements than there are places available. But this factor has not operated in the last year or two: we have been able to take anyone we thought worthy of admission.

In considering examination results, we leave ourselves some latitude for their interpretation. It is not simply a case of allowing a good performance in A to compensate for a moderate performance in B. It is also necessary to take account of 'extraneous' considerations, such as the candidate's school and home, the availability of books and the encouragement he has had from his teachers and parents to read or browse in them. It is here that the interview and report come into play. It is perfectly possible for the most moderately endowed boy or girl to get high marks in the present examination set-up if 'well-taught' and hard-working. We want something more than that: some spark of intellectual initiative and curiosity, ability to criticize as well as to reproduce the ideas of others, etc.; in short, I suppose, intelligence.

(2) Evidence of qualities which are not narrowly intellectual or academic. These are not easy to list, let alone measure, but here are a few we welcome: readiness to apply himself to work and capacity to work independently; maturity and stability, which are important in helping him to adapt himself to conditions of work and life in a University (often very unsettling at first, especially if he is living away from home for the first time); interests—or an interest—pursued with some energy and enterprise; some conception of the value and purpose of University life and an eagerness to enter into it and

enjoy it; character, in the sense of integrity and of personality. Here again, it is very important to bear in mind the background of each individual: at that age, guidance, opportunities, stimuli are or may be decisive in a boy's development.

This leads to the conclusion that any Admissions Tutor worth his salt will, from time to time, admit a person in spite of the evidence. He has a hunch, if you like, that, though appearances are against him, someone deserves a chance and will make good use of it; that though he has not flowered hitherto, transplant him and he will. Then there is the occasional freak or eccentric who breaks all the rules but for whom we must break them, too. For the rest, it is still dangerous to generalize: it is the total impact of a person on the Admissions Tutor; and you cannot analyse this impact precisely. It would be easy if you could work out and work on a points system: so many for this, so many for that—tot them up and there you are: in or out. But the elements are too diverse, and often imponderable, for that. The short answer to the question of admissions is: each individual is considered on his merits!

University of Birmingham

G. BRACKWELL

II

One of the problems constantly in debate between dons and school teachers is whether the Universities, where there is great competition for admission, really select the best candidates. Some dons are afraid that they sometimes choose candidates who have been so well crammed that their native inadequacies only appear after they have reached the University. Many school teachers fear that unless they specially coach a pupil he, or she, will never be able to do well enough in the competitive examination which must be passed with high marks if the candidate is ever to reach the University at all. Dons sometimes say that what they are looking for in a candidate is a lively mind, plenty of intellectual interests, a good command of Latin and at least one modern language, a capacity to reason and a genuine enthusiasm but not necessarily much historical information. Most school teachers retort that unless a pupil has been taught a good deal of 'historical information' and trained to use it very differently from the way he is expected to use it to do well in the G.C.E. at A level, he will never have a chance of convincing a don that he has the other qualities required for admission to a College.

The problem of selecting candidates is difficult to discuss because different Universities and even different Colleges within the same University use different methods. But perhaps something of interest can be said on the basis of the method used to choose History candidates for Girton. Candidates are selected by an examination held jointly with Newnham. All candidates, whether for an award or simply for a place, normally take the same examination, which consists of one paper in History, either of England or Europe, a General Paper, a paper intended to test the candidate's command of the English language and her capacity to reason clearly, a Translation Paper and an English Essay. Before a candidate is admitted to the College she must also have satisfied the University authorities of her fitness to come. This she does either by passing the Previous Examination or more usually by gaining exemption from this by passing the G.C.E. either at O or A level in Latin or

Greek, an approved scientific or mathematical subject, English, a second language and one other approved subject such as History or Geography. One quality which the College examination is intended to test is relevance, a candidate scores high marks who begins an answer by at once tackling the question set, and who sticks to the question throughout her answer. A second quality is coherence and clarity in argument and the ability to use vivid and concrete detail to support a thesis. The translation paper usually tests accuracy and common sense. It is astonishing how few of the weaker candidates try to make sense of the passage set for translation. The English Essay and the General Paper, because in these papers the candidate has less help from chronological narrative or familiar analysis, give the better candidates more chance to show what they can do to build up a coherent argument independently. These papers also give a candidate more chance to show something of her individual interests and to use miscellaneous information picked up in the course of her private reading or in the pursuit of some hobby.

An interview forms part of the examination for those candidates who have attained a sufficiently high standard in the written papers. From the interview, from the papers and from a report from the candidate's school the College hopes to select candidates who not only have the necessary intellectual qualities but who also have the physical energy, maturity, capacity for hard work and genuine interest in intellectual work that will enable them to take full advantage of life at Cambridge and yet do well in the Tripos.

On the whole the method of selection works quite well. The English History paper is apt to be a little difficult to assess because girls have generally been very well taught and their answers tend to reflect essays written at School or discussions with their school mistress rather than their own ideas about what they have read. In general the work in medieval history tends to be of a better quality than the work on modern periods. The European History tends to be rather fresher than the answers on English History. The English Essay tends to be weak, so are the answers in the General Paper. It seems that few girls are interested in the technique of writing an essay and that school girls in the Sixth Form have very little time for general reading. One of the most difficult problems is to detect how a candidate is likely to develop, particularly in her general interests and her social life at Cambridge. Those who allow peripheral interests, whether of an intellectual or social kind, to absorb them too completely, or those who remain too narrowly shut in by the prescribed syllabus, are equally unsatisfactory. The main problem for the Colleges is how to select something like twenty-four candidates from about two hundred who all take the examination in History and most of whom are very much alike. There is no difficulty in selecting a dozen or so really able girls at the top of the list, and the Cambridge selection usually shows a pretty fair correlation with the people offered awards at Oxford. A few really weak candidates sink to the bottom. But among the candidates in the middle, who may be separated only by a very few marks, it is extremely difficult to be certain that all the reasonably promising girls are among the eighty or so summoned for interview and that none of those among the best of these rejected without the additional test is really more promising than those who gained perhaps slightly better marks on the paper work and so qualify to be seen. It is, however, reassuring to realize that among those who try for Cambridge some very genuinely would prefer to go somewhere

else and are only sitting the Cambridge examination as an insurance policy. It also seems, as far as College records can tell, that of the two hundred candidates who try to gain admission in History most eventually gain a place at some University.

Girton College, Cambridge

JEAN LINDSAY

III

The selection of potential Honours students is one of the most difficult problems confronting the Head of the Department in a College where the academic standards attained before entry are diverse, where a pass degree is still possible, and where the Head of the Department as such may not have any direct control over initial admission to the College. Under the present regulations of the University of Wales as applied in this College, all Arts students take in their first year a Part One course in three subjects selected by the students without restriction from available courses. At the end of the first year, students may proceed to a two-year Part Two course for a pass degree in two subjects, with a one-year course in an Auxiliary subject; or if admitted by the Head of the Department may proceed to Honours in a single subject such as History. No degree examination is sat between the end of the first year and the end of the third year. The admission of a student to the Honours courses is wholly at the discretion of the Head of the Department, and once admission is granted it is not normally practicable to withdraw it. The decision to admit or not to admit is, therefore, a weighty one fraught with serious and far-reaching consequences both to the students concerned and to the quality of the Honours school. It is all the more difficult because the very great majority of students who wish to continue with History at all, wish nowadays to do so at the Honours level.

To base the decision upon any wholly satisfactory grounds is a matter of grave difficulty. It is not possible to insist upon any language test, when perhaps only a quarter of the potential candidates have any qualification in Latin and perhaps only a half or less any qualification in French. The days appear to have gone by when such tests can be reasonably relied upon as a means of reducing the potential numbers. In present circumstances, when the appeal of History is wide and the need to provide a feasible intellectual discipline for considerable numbers of Arts students is pressing, it seems unreasonable to restrict an Honours course in History solely to those who can show specific linguistic qualifications, even though the absence of such qualifications necessarily restricts the type of courses that they can pursue. Serious consideration has been given to the question whether some additional written work should not be required before admission, but so far this has not been found practicable.

In these circumstances a decision can be taken only on the basis of class records in the first year, the opinions of staff especially concerned with the first-year courses, the actual performance of the candidates in the Part One examinations, and a close and careful personal interview of each candidate by the Head of the Department. This interview is designed as far as possible to elicit from the student his or her probable intellectual calibre and potentiality as a prospective Honours student. Questions put to the candidate are intended to reveal not any particular point of knowledge, but whether he or

she has troubled to think about History as a branch of study and considered what value it may have, to assess the motives of the student in seeking Honours in it, and to ascertain to what extent, if any, he has read anything apart from the standard textbooks. Judicious questioning of this kind can elicit much, and the manner rather than the matter of replies to such questions is usually found to be more revealing. In some cases it becomes immediately apparent that the student should not be admitted, and in others that he clearly should be. In other cases the conclusion to be drawn is much less certain, and in these a final decision can only be taken in the light of the Part One examination results which necessarily become available after the interviews are held. On the whole, these arrangements appear to work reasonably well, although it may not always be possible to avoid some cases which in the event can only be described as Professor's Mistakes. But it is too early in the process to come to any final judgement in the matter.

University College, Cardiff

S. B. CHRIMES

IV

All applicants for admission to read History at University College London must fulfil the formal requirements of the University. These are, from 1957 onwards, that they should have a General Certificate of Education with at least two subjects passed at Advanced and three at Ordinary level, and that the subjects should include (either at O or A level) one classical and one modern foreign language. It often happens, however, that applicants are interviewed, and provisionally accepted, before they have taken the examination. All that is required is that they should have passed it by the time they enter College.

In addition, we have always insisted at University College, that candidates should have an adequate reading-knowledge of at least one foreign language, preferably French. This does not mean that we demand any special examinations from them, but simply that we require some reasonable assurance that all our students will in fact be able to read the histories of foreigners. Nobody would expect that British students of history should know nothing but the British point of view, but many forget that our fiercest critics have usually written in languages other than our own.

The real job of selection, however, is based on a consideration of wider qualifications, as evidenced by (a) the statement made by the candidate himself, (b) his Headmaster's or Headmistress's report, and (c) an interview. This latter should be a comparatively intimate affair, preferably with not more than two or three people being present, since the aim of the interviewers should be (in my opinion), not so much to ask questions as to get the candidate talking. For what one wants to do, is not to look for a whole list of qualities and tick them off as on a questionnaire, but to find out what sort of person the candidate really is. The ultimate question that one has to ask oneself is whether one could contemplate the thought of teaching him; and to answer that question one has to consider all the evidence before one, including the candidate's own written statement and the Headmaster's report. It is disastrously easy to decide that, in view of the candidate's apparent intelligence and charm, one will ignore the evidence of his (or her) written statement; and it is often peculiarly tempting to decide that the Headmaster or

Headmistress did not know what he, or she, was talking about. But that way leads to disaster. One has to give due weight to the impression that the candidate has made on others besides oneself.

What one wants is to ascertain whether the candidate is intellectually alive—whether he has got any living interests and whether he shows keenness in their pursuit. The question has first to be asked in relation to historical studies; one wants to know not only what periods he has ‘done’ and what books he has read, but also what he thinks about them. Is his interest genuine, and are there any other ways in which it has broken out? Perhaps he belongs to the local Public Library and reads books other than those which are on his school syllabus. Perhaps he has travelled and has found himself interested by what he has seen. Perhaps he is interested in archæology and has advanced from watching television to visiting a museum or working on a ‘dig’. Perhaps he is interested in current affairs and has followed them in the newspaper. Perhaps he is interested in art, music, poetry or drama. But in all cases the question is how he has reacted to the opportunities at his disposal. If one finds a candidate who has no interests, and who has never bestirred himself in order to make a discovery of his own, one has no difficulty in making a decision. For a student who has no intellectual curiosity will be bored by study, and, thinking that his education is already complete, will treat the University simply as the place where he is ‘finished’. It should, on the contrary, be the place where his intellectual life begins.

That is why the interviewers always want to see the candidates as *people*. They want to know what their opportunities have been and what they have done with them, so that they can gauge, not only their good or bad fortune but also their potentiality. The question which one has to ask is not which candidates have done best in their examinations, but which will grow into better people if, for three years of their lives, they are surrounded by a world of learning.

University College, London

R. H. C. DAVIS

V

Before admission, candidates for Manchester University must have satisfied both the regulations governing University entrance and certain departmental requirements.

(a) Matriculation. The responsibility for fulfilling the qualifications for University entrance rests entirely with applicants who are expected to clarify their position, if this seems in doubt, by writing direct to the Secretary of the Northern Universities’ Joint Matriculation Board.

(b) Departmental requirements. Candidates are normally expected to have passed at the Advanced level in the General Certificate of Education, with marks in the region of sixty per cent, in at least two subjects, one of which must be History. Applicants are also required to show competence in Latin and in one modern foreign language, preferably French, by passes in these subjects, at least at Ordinary level in the General Certificate. Those without these language requirements are only considered for admission on the basis of a four-year, instead of the normal three-year course of study.

Candidates for admission are advised to forward their completed application forms to the departmental secretary as early as possible in the academic

session preceding that for which entrance is required. Individual applications are considered as they are received, along with supporting evidence supplied by the candidate's Headmaster or Headmistress. If necessary, candidates are asked to attend for a preliminary interview.

Candidates who, at the time of their application, can produce evidence of having completed both the matriculation and departmental requirements, and who have expressed a first preference for Manchester, are usually offered places for the following October without delay. Offers of reserved places may also be made to fully qualified candidates, who wish to compete for scholarships or exhibitions at Oxford or Cambridge or who have expressed an initial preference for one of the modern Universities other than Manchester.

Experience has, however, shown that the majority of candidates, most of whom obtain deferment of their National Service obligations till after graduation, need to complete either their qualifications for University entrance or the above-mentioned departmental requirement. Where the Matriculation qualification alone is lacking at the time of application, an offer of provisional acceptance is given, and definite acceptance follows immediately upon the fulfilment of the requirement. Candidates who need to complete the departmental requirement are informed that their applications will be considered immediately upon the receipt of the results of their examinations, i.e. in mid-August. A generous proportion of the total number of places available each year is, however, reserved for the benefit of such candidates. It is also hoped to make arrangements which will allow places to be offered to candidates as a result of their performance in the Jones History entrance scholarship examinations, which are held each year in February.

Every effort is thus made to give all applicants the maximum chance of early acceptance, to allow qualified candidates who wish to exercise it the right of competing elsewhere before accepting the offer of a reserved place at Manchester, and to give those whose acceptance is unavoidably deferred the assurance that an adequate number of places will be available for them when they qualify for admission at a later stage.

In our view the interview of candidates is a valuable method of assessing their relative suitability for the Honours School, but in view of the time it absorbs, where large numbers of applicants are concerned, we have come to the conclusion that its use in all instances is not necessary. We have found it most helpful, however, in deciding on applications which are at all unusual or difficult—where, for example, the candidate is a mature student, or has decided on a University career only after having left school or in the middle of his National Service, or where school reports suggest that an applicant has personal qualities which may fit him for a place in the University despite his lack of one or other of the normal academic requirements.

Although the great majority of men candidates at Manchester prefer to obtain deferment of their National Service obligations, we are always interested to receive applications from students who have already completed these requirements. Experience suggests that such students, although a minority, prove a most valuable element in the University and show qualities of maturity and leadership which are a vital asset in student extra-curricular activities.

On the academic side the great need, at the moment, appears to us to be for provision to be made at school for intending Honours History students to

acquire competence in Latin beyond the Ordinary level pass in the General Certificate of Education. Far too many of our recent candidates have been allowed to drop the study of Latin in their final years at school and have found difficulty in passing this subject at Intermediate level at the end of their first year at the University.

Is it too much to hope, finally, that some schools will find it possible to send in students for admission who have at least a bowing acquaintance with the outlines of medieval history? Ninety-five per cent of our present applicants seem to have concentrated their attention exclusively on modern history.

University of Manchester

A. GOODWIN

VI

It would be a rash person who would dare to generalize about the practices of some twenty-five colleges, each with its own historic character and many having some special connection with certain schools or regions, in selecting undergraduates to read for the Honour School of Modern History in Oxford, especially at a time when a rise in the number of applicants promises to impose some revision of existing procedures. Any account of present methods, moreover, is bound to rest largely on personal impressions. The following summary is no more than that. It is also likely that any summary must to some extent mislead. The one generalization that may safely be made is that colleges go to immense trouble in discriminating between candidates and welcome all available evidence about them. There is intense competition between colleges as between candidates.

Considerable weight, of course, attaches to evidence from the schools themselves, but this is conclusive only when a college (or its head) chooses, or is driven by pressure of applications, to 'preselect' those whom it can examine. Such preselection seems bound to increase in coming years, with or without papers worked at school; but its function is merely to eliminate. References from Headmasters and others, when they are frank and informative, can provide the all-essential clues. As is well known, however, these documents differ a great deal in intrinsic value. They are of most importance in the selection of Commoners, where attention has to be given to the contribution which a young man may be expected to make to the general life of a college (which does not mean necessarily in athletic activities) and to the influence of his character on others. A cognate consideration in many cases might be whether he would be likely to avail himself of the special opportunities which Oxford is felt to offer its undergraduates. But a 'difficult' boy is sometimes accepted in the belief that the community of college life and the regular care of the tutorial system will build him up personally and academically. In arriving at a judgement of these qualities the college interview is also of the first importance and as a rule it is not only history tutors who take part in it. Perhaps it can be said that the main object of a general (as opposed to a tutorial) interview is to ascertain the range, spontaneity, and genuineness of a candidate's interests in life at large, including his powers of observation. This will normally throw light on his mental resilience, steadiness, and initiative as well as on 'personality'. The procedure is gentle enough to draw out all but the shyest. Traces of conceit, for example, may be a greater handicap here than incommunicativeness (which can sometimes be allowed for in the

light of the school report). Some schools make the mistake of preparing their boys for interview, forgetting that we try to adapt the manner of interview to each candidate in turn. What is called 'a narrow background' is some disadvantage but seldom or never fatal in itself (unlike an impression of natural 'dimness'). We have all had pupils so placed who have ripened quickly enough in the climate of the university. Conversely, 'charm' is not everything; it is often in inverse ratio to the quality of the candidate's written work.

It is difficult to offer any clear-cut statement about the relative weight given, in choosing Commoners, to interview and school report, on the one hand, and to evidence of intellectual capacity on the other. Final choices are reached only after a careful balancing of several considerations and frequently after painful heart-searching. Broadly it might be said that a general interview is of some negative, but of less positive, importance when the written examination work is good. It is of considerably more importance in discriminating among that fairly large number whose written work is competent but undistinguished. At the other end of the scale poor papers can hardly be compensated by a 'good' interview, if only because we have to select candidates who will be likely to pass their 'Preliminary' examination in the University—a necessary qualification even for the nowadays rather rare student for a pass degree. In this connection we are hardly free to overlook proof of incompetence in Latin and French translation, although we *may* take a risk on this in the case of an otherwise desirable candidate. Real ability to read historical work, even in French, let alone other languages, is nothing like as common as history tutors must continue to wish. It is equally true that many a good history candidate acquits himself poorly in the 'General' paper. Here, in particular, 'background' is apt to tell. But tutors differ on what they feel they can learn from this paper. On the other hand, if a special history paper is set, one is naturally well disposed, other things being equal, towards the candidate with *wide* historical interests. A 'tutorial viva' will test these interests further and can sometimes be more informative, even about personality, than the general interview (normally a less gruelling affair).

The tutorial viva may be of even greater value in the selection of Open Scholars and Exhibitioners, unless their written performance is decisive. It helps us to make up our minds, for instance, how much we think a candidate owes to good teaching and how he is likely to develop when he has to work more on his own. In these cases we are looking for signs of some native originality or at least some unusual power or refinement of mind. Some of us try to get behind the teacher to the taught, but it must be said that often the good teacher wins and that the tutor with a sure eye for future Firsts has a touch of genius too. As is to be expected, the scholarship examination places a higher premium on written work than do the ordinary entrance examinations and demands more of it. The practice of admitting a certain number of history Commoners on the results of the annual scholarship examination, however, now seems to be widespread. Some, though not all, tutors would claim that they get their best Commoner pupils in this way. But it would surely be a sad day for the Colleges if this were the only channel for recruiting Commoners and some would argue that it is in danger of being abused by candidates who have no expectation of reaching exhibition standard.

Lastly, it needs to be said that the Women's Colleges, if only because they confront an exceptionally large number of applicants, are something of a

special case. All candidates there take the competitive Scholarship and Entrance Examination, selection being made on the basis of promise shown in the written work, letters from Headmistresses, and interviews. These last are considered very important, though overseas candidates, if unable to be present in person, are excused from them. Special arrangements are made for graduates from other Universities. Two history papers (one on general historical questions), tests in Latin and French or German, and the 'General' work required of all candidates, are required from those intending to read history. Though the very large number of candidates adds to the difficulties of the examiners, and though experiments are constantly being discussed and tried in different subjects, it is generally felt at the Women's Colleges that this method gives better results than any other open to them and, in particular, that it can (though it may not look as if it could) be operated sufficiently flexibly to choose good Commoners as well as Scholars and Exhibitioners.¹

Keble College, Oxford

J. S. BROMLEY

¹ I owe this paragraph to the Principal of Lady Margaret Hall.

EDITORIAL NOTES

THE RETIRING EDITOR of *History* took office at a time when shortages of all kinds made his task a difficult one, and in a period of inflation he has had to produce the journal on an increasingly inadequate subscription. In spite of such handicaps *History* was restored from the thinness of the war-time issues and its scholarly standards maintained at a high level. The production even of a single number requires much time and labour and the Association owes a debt of gratitude to Professor Treharne and his assistant editor, Mr. S. H. F. Johnston, for bearing this burden during so many years. It is perhaps not generally known that Messrs. George Philip and Son also came to the aid of the journal in the critical period after the second World War; there is a particular debt in this connection to Mr. E. G. Godfrey, who has devoted much time and energy to the problems of *History*. I am personally grateful to Professor Treharne and Mr. Godfrey for endeavouring to bring the journal up to date, before my editorship, by the heroic measure of publishing all three numbers for 1956 in a single issue. To facilitate the publication of articles and reviews which have already been accepted, I have willingly taken over some of these.

Increased charges for printing and postage, and the expense of a less cramped format, have considerably raised the cost of producing *History*. The new format has been adopted in the belief that it will be welcome to our readers and will in due course lead to an increase in circulation. On the other hand, at least for the current number, it has been necessary to limit the contents in the interests of economy. Reports of Council meetings and general Notes and News have provisionally been sacrificed. If this arouses widespread regret they could be reinstated, though probably only at the expense of some other feature. The greatest problem, in respect of space, is presented by the flood of books coming in for review. I hope to discuss this in a subsequent number, when there has been time to measure its full scope and form a considered opinion. The development of a definite editorial policy, in this and other respects, will naturally take a little time and doubtless involve some unsuccessful experiments. Criticisms and suggestions will be welcomed, but in the first place there must be something to criticize. The editor and assistant editor think it highly probable that they will be able to provide this.

REVIEWS

ANCIENT

THE ALL-KNOWING GOD: RESEARCHES INTO EARLY RELIGION AND CULTURE. By Raffaella Pettazzoni. Trans. by H. J. Rose. London: Methuen. 1956. xv + 475 pp. 60s.

THE NATURE AND FUNCTION OF PRIESTHOOD. By E. O. James. London: Thames and Hudson. 1956. 336 pp. 25s.

We have two books here, by two eminent scholars, each of whom is a specialist of international reputation in the field of the Comparative Study of Religion. One of the books, originally written in Italian, has had the good fortune to be translated by another scholar, also of international reputation. So that before so august a trinity a poor reviewer feels that a reverent approach with suitable offerings is meet. First, due need of praise should be paid to Professor Rose for his admirable translation, lucid in style and faithful in detail to his author in a subject demanding expert knowledge from the translator. Next, it may be said that the two books supplement each other in a remarkable way. Professor James deals with an institution whose function has always been to mediate between the human and the divine or sacred, while Professor Pettazzoni deals with a special aspect of the divine of which the priesthood has at times claimed a share, namely the attribute of omniscience. In early Babylonian magic texts a formula frequently occurs in which the God Ea, the inventor of magic, the lord of wisdom, addresses his son Marduk, who also shares this special knowledge, in the words, 'My son, what knowest thou not? what more can I say to thee?' It was this kind of knowledge, the magic knowledge that gives power, that man is supposed to have coveted in Eden, a godlike knowledge. It is the implications of this knowledge and its history that Professor Pettazzoni has traced out through all its ramifications. In the course of his investigation he rejects the thesis of Andrew Lang and Wilhelm Schmidt which 'assigned the Supreme Being in his ideally purest form to human culture at its supposedly most primitive phase'. He insists on the necessity of 'a rigorously exact historical basis' in attempting to relate the Supreme Being to a particular type of culture. It is this which gives its special value to his vast collection of material so skilfully handled.

Professor James has also collected an immense mass of relevant material, and has marshalled it with great skill. The range of his subject is so wide that many of its aspects are bound to receive a somewhat cursory treatment. There are obscurities, for instance, in the chapter on Priesthood and Sacrifice, owing to compression. The connection between the death of Miriam and the ritual of the Red Heifer in Num. xix-xx is not explained. But such minor difficulties in no way detract from the value of a book which fills a

distinct gap in the comparative study of one of the most important institutions which mankind has developed.

S. H. HOOKE

THE WORLD OF ODYSSEUS. By M. I. Finley. London: Chatto and Windus. 1956. 190 pp. 15s.

Mr. Finley argues that the *Odyssey* gives a coherent picture of a society and assumes that this society did exist and can be dated about the tenth and ninth centuries B.C. His argument on the inner coherence of the 'world of Odysseus' is founded upon a careful reading of the Homeric poems and, on the whole, is persuasive. His assumption that the world of Odysseus existed outside the poet's imagination is likely enough, but is bound to remain an assumption while our knowledge of Greek archaic social history remains what it is (that is, very poor). It follows that the Homeric society cannot yet be dated. But Mr. Finley could have mentioned that an inscribed cup found at Ischia in 1955 (published in the *Rendiconti dei Lincei*, 1955, p. 215) shows that Nestor's cup was known to the Greek colonists in Italy in the late eighth century B.C.

Whether the world of Odysseus is a real one or is a clever combination of contemporary facts, of traditional data and of poetic fancies, it is certainly different from the Mycenaean world. Mr. Finley had already said so in the American edition of his book (1954) and now expands this view in a new Appendix to which Ventris' decipherment of Minoan linear B provides weighty arguments. Indeed, the archives of Pylos, though yet imperfectly examined, seem to show conclusively that the Mycenaean society was much nearer to the Hittite than to the Homeric society. Priests and priestesses, royal potters, fullers and armourers, etc., play a far greater part in the Pylos tablets than in Homer's poems (*cf.* E. L. Bennett, 'The Landholders of Pylos', *Am. Journ. Phil.*, 60, 1956, pp. 103-34).

The book is well written and religiously avoids Greek characters. It shows the clarity, subtlety and independence of judgement we have come to expect from the author of *Studies in Land and Credit in Ancient Athens, 500-200 B.C.* (1951).
University College, London

ARNALDO MOMIGLIANO

THE GREEK TYRANTS. By A. Andrewes. London: Hutchinson's University Library. 1956. 164 pp. 8s. 6d.

Tyranny has a topical interest in the twentieth century. Professor Andrewes writes with a fresh awareness of modern ideas which invests his book with an appeal to the general reader as well as to the student of ancient history. He is concerned chiefly with the early Greek tyrants who flourished between 650 and 510 B.C. They lived in the great age of Greek aristocracy, when lyric poetry was at its height and innovations were being made in art, economics and politics. Professor Andrewes describes the characteristics of this age in a direct and succinct style, and he includes states, such as Sparta, which never succumbed to a tyrant. In some cases the ranks of the aristocrats or the privileged classes stood firm; in others they were split by new social and economic conditions, and the ensuing struggle provided the opportunity for the would-be tyrant. Most disruptive of all was the acquisition of wealth, which grew with the colonial expansion of Greece and was accelerated by the introduction of coined money.

Among the factors which contributed to the rise of the Greek tyrants,

Professor Andrewes includes the change in warfare which gave importance to the members of the propertied class fighting as hoplites or heavy infantry. As this change took place some forty years before the first tyrant appeared in Greece, there is a risk of confusing a *post quod* with a *propter quod*. Some of the early tyrants were supported by the *demos*, a word which in the Homeric poems and in Solon's writings comprises all free-born citizens and is used to differentiate the lower orders—the have-nots—from the propertied or aristocratic members of the state. When Professor Andrewes proposes to identify the hoplite class with the *demos*, he advances a novel and paradoxical view which requires more support than he can give in a general study of this kind. Another problem on which he touches is the effect of tyranny on the constitutional development of the Greek states. Historians used to think of the tyrants as champions of democracy and emancipators of the poor. Professor Andrewes broaches this problem with a more balanced judgement; for we now know that Peisistratus' sons co-operated with some Athenian aristocrats, and there is reason to doubt whether Peisistratus dispossessed of their lands the great aristocratic clans such as the Alcmeonidae.

The tyrants of the fourth century B.C. have a much more modern ring. They arose from the corruption of democracy in a sophisticated society, which had been torn by the violence of great wars and distressed by political and economic dislocations. This is the type of tyranny which Aristotle knew and analysed so well in the *Politics*. Professor Andrewes gives a lively and vivid description of Dionysius, tyrant of Syracuse, and his use of unscrupulous 'mercenary' troops; but one lays down his interesting and stimulating book with the wish that he had given us more of his views on this the most modern period of ancient Greek tyranny.

Clifton College, Bristol

N. G. L. HAMMOND

WOMEN IN ANTIQUITY. By Charles Seltman. London: Thames and Hudson. 1956. 224 pp. 18s.

In this book Dr. Seltman uses the evidence of visual art as well as of literature to describe, and attempt to estimate the position of, women in the various ancient Mediterranean and allied civilizations. The result is a beautiful series of plates showing women as depicted by ancient artists, and some curious and interesting information (as that the weightiest German Encyclopædia of the Classics contains a lengthy article on nakedness, and that ancient women-athletes wore brassières and 'bikinis'); it is to be regretted however that Dr. Seltman allows his own feminist sympathies and pre-occupation with sex-reform to influence his selection and interpretation of the ancient evidence. He paints a rosy picture of Sparta, for instance, suppressing the darker side, apparently because he approves of the superior position occupied by women in that community. He develops the unconventional thesis put forward by Gomme (*Essays in History and Literature*, 1937) that women enjoyed a not-inferior position in Athenian society, without observing that scholar's cautious qualification that 'the matter is doubtful'. One would be more inclined to see in his 'girl-jockey' on a vase from Clazomenae a sign of the freedom enjoyed there by women, were one not aware that most authorities think the girl is a man. A stimulating book, provided that it is not one's only source of information on women in antiquity.

University College, London

J. H. KELLS

TIBERIUS, A STUDY IN RESENTMENT. By Gregorio Marañón. London: Hollis and Carter. 1956. xii + 234 pp. 25s.

TACITUS, THE ANNALS OF IMPERIAL ROME. Translated with an introduction by Michael Grant. London: Penguin Books. 1956. 447 pp. 5s.

Tacitus, psychological historian: Marañón, historical psychologist; how illuminating the juxtaposition might have been! Alas, it is hard to describe in temperate words the badness of Dr. Marañón's book. His purpose is to explain the behaviour of Tiberius by showing him as an example of a psychological type—the 'resentful man'. But there is no such type; men of many psychological types may be resentful, and for many reasons. The explanation therefore explains nothing.

'History ought to be a science', Marañón asserts; but in science you do not measure with an elastic ruler. On p. 47 the author Velleius is 'a trustworthy man and a contemporary'; on p. 127 his pen was 'inspired by adulation'. When a story suits Marañón it goes down without comment: 'the story goes that . . .', 'the people', who were closer to the truth than the commentators of twenty centuries later, perceived how . . .'. When it does not, it is 'yet another calumny', 'a "punitive legend" with which society punished a man whom it hated, as the arbitrary mind of the masses is in the habit of doing'. Marañón, like Tacitus, is an adept at having it both ways.

Marañón's Latin is inadequate. He is constantly mistranslating his sources—not to speak of picking phrases out of contexts. A useful lesson in historical method for the general reader: check Marañón's references against Tacitus, in the original or in Grant's excellent new version. The book is also full of wool. We are told what Tiberius 'must have realized in the depths of his four-year-old soul', and so on. Worst of all it is bad psychology. Marañón believes that generalship is an inherited characteristic, that weak chins mean weak wills, that islanders have an ambivalence and 'by way of relieving it they are often alcoholics'. Consider one of his arguments for believing that Tiberius' brother Drusus was Augustus' natural son: 'Drusus was jovial, receptive and full of geniality. Such were the qualities of Augustus, inherited from Julius Caesar.' Or this: the fact that Vipsania was the granddaughter of Atticus, a slippery fellow, 'unquestionably explains by the law of heredity' why she was able to change husbands without repining! The views of such a writer on the politics of the period are not worth discussing.

If only Tacitus could be put on the analyst's couch, we should have, one suspects, a very powerful 'study in resentment'. How could a man who thought he was writing 'without indignation or partisanship' write as he did? What feelings of guilt, prompted by the knowledge that his own career had prospered under the tyranny of the 'bald Nero' (Domitian of course, not Nero himself, as Marañón thinks), did he assuage by blackening Tiberius? Such are the (quite unanswerable) speculations prompted by reading Tacitus in Grant's supremely readable version. It has faults: Grant has, as always, some original ideas that do not come off, such as putting bits of Tacitus in footnotes, arbitrarily and irritatingly, and giving us Roman history without the legions (they become 'brigades', but brigades have no corporate *esprit*), and without the *equites* ('knights' admittedly won't do, but here they are 'gentlemen outside the senate', which leads to such phrases as: 'Poppaea, while married to a gentleman outside the senate . . .'). Moreover, he is sometimes hasty with subtle shades of Latin. Nevertheless, this is a translation that will

keep many a non-classical reader awake in the train or in bed, a worthy addition to a fine series.

St. John's College, Cambridge

J. A. CROOK

ROMAN SPAIN: AN INTRODUCTION TO THE ROMAN ANTIQUITIES OF SPAIN AND PORTUGAL. By F. J. Wiseman. London: Bell. 1956. 232 pp. 18s. 6d.

Roman Spain, with its separate provinces based on regional distinctions, was probably better governed and happier than it has ever been since. Once the Punic Wars, the Civil War, and the wars of pacification were over, there came the roads, bridges, aqueducts, mines, commerce, education and the administrative changes which gradually kept pace with the times. The Iberians already had a code of laws, which were (or sounded as if they were) in verse; they made beautiful objects (under Greek influence), had a passion for dancing, and above all lived in towns. But the Celts had to be taught to come down from their hill-villages and go to market in the valley, so that they could have the baths, the law-courts, schools, temples, and other things which Roman civilization provided.

Mr. Wiseman does not distinguish very clearly between Celts and Iberians. The point of the great bridge of Alcántara was not its measurements but the fact that it was put up by a number of Celtic towns and villages, whose names have been mostly forgotten but whose inhabitants were combining, in a very Roman fashion, to produce a work of public utility. Mérida, on the contrary, was perhaps built in that deserted spot—it required no less than three aqueducts—to show what the might of Rome could do; 1500 years later, the might of Spain could do the same in Mexico. And then, at the end, Conimbriga had to rush up its walls, and leave the best villas outside, because the Suevi were coming down the Roman road.

There are twenty-one admirable illustrations, but no bibliography. (Mrs. Brogan has one in the companion volume on Roman Gaul.) Mértola (MYRTILIS) is misspelt; and Catalan is not an Iberian language, but neo-Latin derived from North Italic dialects. Romanization might have been further studied in its linguistic aspects.

Christ's College, Cambridge

J. B. TREND

THE ROMANS WERE HERE. By Jack Lindsay. London: Frederick Muller. 1956. 416 pp. 25s.

The main problem confronting the reviewer of this book is that of trying to envisage the type of reader for whom the author has written it. No one who has not already developed some serious interest in Roman and Romano-British studies is likely to work through nearly four hundred pages of a text that is packed with historical and archaeological detail and makes anything but light and easy reading, despite the somewhat 'chatty' and informal language in which it is expressed. Nevertheless, this is essentially a 'popular' and wholly general work. While it contains (unlike most books of its kind) twenty pages of notes, which amplify a number of points in the text, and three pages of bibliography headed 'Some References', the latter are woefully inadequate and unsystematic, and references in the proper meaning of that term are conspicuously absent. The only illustrations are a series of miserable and worthless outline drawings. A list of at least the most important collections of material from Roman Britain should have been supplied.

Mr. Lindsay has clearly spared no pains in getting up the subject of Roman Britain. He has read conscientiously and widely and kept himself abreast of the most recent excavations and research. The range of his survey is very comprehensive: it includes the history of this island from the pre-Roman Iron Age to the Saxon invasions and all the important facets of provincial life. He has, moreover, sought all along to present Roman Britain to his readers in its full imperial context. But when all this is said the book remains a 'scissors and paste' affair, more or less skilfully pieced together from the works of experts, to some of whom (but not to all) he freely confesses his debts; and his narrative tends to be uncomfortably interlarded with quotations (without references) from modern authorities. We look in vain for the unifying theme and fresh approach which might have justified this type of compilation.

It is indeed a grievous pity that an author, who can often make his topic come alive by vivid writing, should be so unscholarly. Not only are there far too many minor errors of fact, unsubstantiated statements, and dubious or fanciful interpretations, but there are also constant, disfiguring misspellings of ancient proper names and numerous misprints. The English style is sometimes, perhaps, excessively 'bright', and certainly often extremely slipshod. Some Latin terms appear in quite unacceptable Anglicized versions. The text occasionally suffers from 'padding', notably in Chapter 31 ('Christianity and the Last Paganism'); and it must be remarked that Mr. Lindsay shows but scant understanding of the problems that the early Church encountered, while he flourishes a fashionable and sometimes rather cheap partiality for heresies and heretics.

It may, perhaps, be thought ungracious thus to douche with cold water a task carried out with enthusiasm, love and flashes of genuine insight. But it must be regretfully admitted that, while *The Romans Were Here* may give the unperceptive reader a superficial sense of mastering all the results of modern knowledge, conveniently compressed between the covers of a single volume, the book has nothing new to offer to the expert, on the one hand, and is, on the other, too unsound and too unhelpful to be recommended as an introduction for the tyro. Let the latter turn instead to I. A. Richmond's basic, brilliant, and, for its size and price, attractively illustrated *Roman Britain* in the 'Pelican History of England.'

Newnham College, Cambridge

J. M. C. TOYNBEE

MAP OF ROMAN BRITAIN, Third edition. Chessington, Surrey: Ordnance Survey. 1956. Map and text; text 43 pages, 7s. 6d.; map only, 3s. 3d.; text only, 3s.

The second edition of this map was published as long ago as 1931, and the last twenty-five years have seen a very substantial advance in our knowledge of Roman Britain, due in great part 'to the development of air photography as an aid to archæology'. This third edition is especially welcome in view not only of the new material that is available but also because of the new presentation of the whole mass of the evidence. Even so, 'the policy adopted in compiling the map has been conservative', and we are told that other detail could be added 'with the virtual certainty of being right'. Still, it is important to have a body of completely assured fact, and pleasant to have it in such an attractive format.

Compared with those of the second edition the symbols are not only more

numerous but more elaborate. The introduction includes not only a chronological table and five supplementary maps to illustrate specific points, but also a useful topographical index of sites. A first glance will show the great interest of the map, but only close study can reveal its full fascination; the new Lincolnshire evidence, the frontier organization stretching far north into Aberdeenshire, the curious vacant areas to the north and north-west of London, the occasional areas with salt-boiling sites, the sporadic mines and quarries, and the potteries—these and many other points repay examination.

In one respect at any rate, the information shown is more limited than before. The second edition showed wooded areas 'restored upon a geological basis'; the feature has been very wisely abandoned, largely in view of all the uncertainties that such reconstruction involves; the marsh symbol has also been omitted.

The scale of the map is the same as before (16 miles to one inch), but a new base has been devised to cover the whole of Great Britain, and this new base 'is designed to carry a sequence of historical maps extending to the 18th century, of which this is the first'. The Map of Roman Britain is certainly a happy augury, and the Archæology Officer and his staff are to be warmly congratulated on what can only be described as a very notable achievement.
University College, London

H. C. DARBY

A new and revised edition of Professor Miles Burkitt's well-known OLD STONE AGE: A STUDY IN PALÆOLITHIC TIMES (Cambridge: Bowes and Bowes. 3rd ed. 1955. 258 pp. 21s.) has appeared.

Recent issues in the German pocket-book series *Sammlung Götschen* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter) are RÖMISCHE GESCHICHTE (to 31 B.C., 2 vols. 124 + 129 pp.) and RÖMISCHE RELIGIONSGESCHICHTE (2 vols. 114 + 164 pp.), both by F. Altheim, whose views are not universally accepted.

CICERO AND THE ROMAN REPUBLIC, by F. R. Cowell (London: Penguin Books. 1956. 398 pp. 5s.), is a reprint with some modifications of a book first published in 1948 and described in *History* (xxiv. 261-2) as an 'admirable study'.

MEDIEVAL

A HISTORY OF THE ENGLISH-SPEAKING PEOPLES: I. THE BIRTH OF BRITAIN. By Winston S. Churchill. London: Cassell. 1956. xxi + 416 pp. 30s.

'This book does not seek to rival the works of professional historians. It aims rather to present a personal view on the processes whereby English-speaking peoples throughout the world have achieved their distinctive position and character. I write about the things in our past that appear significant to me.' Thus modestly writes the author. Of late years the art of writing narrative history has been in eclipse. Sir Arthur Bryant is an exception to this generalization, but he is content to re-create with graceful skill the detailed story and to leave it at that. He adds nothing of his own. Sir Winston Churchill does more: to steal one of his own phrases from a different context, he is continually 'opening to us a wider window'. The vast landscape which his windows reveal is described for us by one who is himself a landscape painter with an eye for the significant. His historical sense is tremendous, he feels and

sees the continuity of history, and his own experience as a statesman brings to his judgements magnanimity and generosity. The result is a lively (in the Prayer Book meaning of the word, a living) interpretation of British history from the arrival of the Romans down to the arrival of the Tudors.

It is improbable that Sir Winston's first volume adds anything new to historical scholarship. Hard-boiled highbrows may disapprove of the importance he allows to the individual in the control of events (if men have no control over events, should statesmen be criticized for their alleged failures?); or half-baked lowbrows titter at his gaily repeating all the legends, the 'undergrowth', of history—Alfred and the cakes and all that (but do not these legends underline what is significant?). Pacifists may be shocked to learn that in medieval England a strong arm and a swift decision produced a more peaceful kingdom than the highest intelligence or the most saintly kindness. But the average reader will find himself immediately absorbed in this exciting story. And what an introduction to history in general and to medieval Britain in particular has Sir Winston provided for the student at school! There are peculiar difficulties for the young in medieval history: the events happened so long ago; time-charts are vague and imprecise: the figures are misty and unreal: the significance of the past for the present is hard to apprehend. Sir Winston has his solutions for these difficulties. He peoples his canvas with a series of portraits so vivid that even Offa the ditcher comes to life. And for the difficulties in time and space he provides us with a number of range-finders which cause the events to leap into focus. The man of the New Stone Age stands on a grassy down where Dover now is, and pointing to the valley at his feet he says to his grandson, 'The sea comes farther up that creek than it did when I was a boy.' The period of the Roman Province in Britain is equated with 'a period almost equal to that which separates us from the reign of Elizabeth I'. The continuity of history is specially well brought out in the chapter on the English Common Law, or in the many flash-forwards, of which the following may serve as an example: of the Hundred Years War Sir Winston writes, 'It was never to be concluded; no general peace treaty was signed, and not until the Peace of Amiens in 1802, when France was a republic and the French royal heir a refugee within these isles, did the English sovereign formally renounce his claims to the throne of the Valois and the Bourbons.'

This is an admirable book to kindle the historical spark in the mind of a boy or girl at about Certificate age.

Eton College

G. R. N. ROUTH

DARK AGE BRITAIN. Edited by D. B. Harden. London: Methuen. 1956.
xxii + 270 pp. 63s.

This is a collection of studies planned as a presentation volume to E. T. Leeds from his old pupils and friends. Though Leeds died while the book was in the press it will remain as a worthy tribute to a heroic figure in the history of Anglo-Saxon scholarship, who, as the memoir which prefaces the collection claims, 'secured from historians recognition of archæology as an indispensable element in their attempts to discover the course of history in the pagan Saxon period'. Such recognition, though perhaps tardy, is now more freely given than some of the essays here printed might suggest, and it is certain that the 'historian' of Anglo-Saxon England will read this book as attentively as the

'archæologist', if sometimes with the feeling that his imperfect knowledge of the elaborate techniques now part of the latter's stock in trade puts him at a disadvantage. The fourteen essays are divided into three sections, dealing respectively with problems relating to the Roman and Celtic Survival, the Pagan Saxons, and the Christian Saxon and the Viking Age. It will be noted that the archæologist has much to say not only of the age of settlement but also of the later centuries. The pioneering work of Leeds has been followed up not only intensively but extensively as well, and E. M. Jope in an essay on *Saxon Oxford and its Region* now asserts that 'it is from the work of the excavator that advances in our understanding of many problems of the late Saxon period are now most likely to result.' To some readers R. L. S. Bruce Mitford's discussion of *Late Saxon Disc Brooches* with special reference to the Fuller, Strickland and Sutton brooches will be the most interesting contribution in the volume for 'it gives a new cohesion to the whole subject of late Saxon ornament in metal work'.

To review each essay is impossible; to select one or two for special mention here does not imply that they are 'better' than the others, but merely that they are likely to prove particularly interesting to readers of *History*. By this criterion attention may be drawn in the first section to C. H. V. Sutherland's stimulating and judicious reassessment of the problems of *Coinage in Britain in the Fifth and Sixth Centuries*; and to the study of *Romano-British Pottery* by J. N. L. Myres which demonstrates that the cultural links between Roman Britain and pagan Saxon England were closer than used to be supposed. In the second section D. B. Harden's pioneer essay on *Glass Vessels in Britain and Ireland 400-1000* is excellent; but *The Jutes of Kent* by C. F. C. Hawkes will probably be read first: in both subject-matter and method this brings us very close to E. T. Leeds. In the last section will be found a survey by G. C. Dunning of *Trade Relations between England and the Continent in the late Anglo-Saxon Period* as revealed by pottery evidence. The volume is excellently provided with plates, illustrations and maps.

Jesus College, Cambridge

D. J. V. FISHER

AN INTRODUCTION TO ANGLO-SAXON ENGLAND. By Peter Hunter Blair. Cambridge University Press. 1956. xv + 382 pp. 30s.

Mr. P. Hunter Blair's *Introduction to Anglo-Saxon England* is an attractive book, designed not only for historians but also for students of literature, archæology and art. 'Straight' history is packed into the two chapters ('The foundations of England' and 'Britain and the Vikings') which occupy the first 115 pages, and the rest of the book is devoted to chapters on the Church (including church-architecture), Government, Economy and Letters. The advantage of this method is that non-historians can skip the first two chapters: the disadvantage is that the reader is apt to lose sight of the fact that in Anglo-Saxon England, the history of the Church, Government and Letters falls into two distinct periods as clearly as does 'straight' history. What we gain in classification we lose in the sense of development.

The author is, as his up-to-date bibliography shows, well abreast of modern scholarship, and his interests lead him to concentrate, rather refreshingly, on the North as opposed to the South, and on Scandinavian as well as English archæology, so that we are treated to expositions, not only of Wansdyke and 'saucer-brooches' but also of the important Viking fortress at Trelleborg in

Denmark. But perhaps the most predominant theme might be described as 'the Britishness of Anglo-Saxon England'. For Mr. Hunter Blair as a Cambridge man and a pupil of H. M. Chadwick, does not believe in the idea of Anglo-Saxons migrating to Britain *en masse*. The English kingdoms, he says were not 'in any way tribal or national in origin'—though he apparently has no difficulty in admitting the existence of separate peoples such as the Jutes—but came into existence through military conquests made by warrior-bands under the rule of kings, who entered Britain as allied-troops (*federati*) and only subsequently decided to subdue it. It is a view which has much to commend it, and which has to be taken seriously, but it may perhaps be questioned whether Mr. Hunter Blair does not take it too far. For though his emphasis on the British is helpful in explaining the end of Roman Britain, it does not prepare us for the seventh century when the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms were all-powerful and Anglo-Saxon settlers ubiquitous, with an English abbot of Melrose, an English anchorite on Windermere, and an English *village* in which St. Cuthbert was reared. Perhaps one would not have been so surprised to come across these details if Mr. Hunter Blair had not kept the 'historical' chapters so distinct from the others; but as it is, the Sutton Hoo Ship Burial, which gives such a vivid impression of early Anglo-Saxondom, is not allowed to find its way into 'history' but is relegated instead to Government, Society and Letters.

The most controversial part of the 'British' thesis, however, relates to the Church. For though no one would now deny that Celtic missionaries played a large part in the conversion of the English, Mr. Hunter Blair would go further and attribute missionary zeal to the Welsh Church also, and is therefore forced to dispose of the testimony of Bede as that of 'a hostile witness', a verdict with which few readers of the *Ecclesiastical History* would agree. He attributes the hostility of the British bishops to St. Augustine to a sense of what their Church 'had achieved during a century-and-a-half in isolation from Rome', and apparently assumes that it had nothing whatever to do with their attitude to the Anglo-Saxons.

It should not be assumed, however, that the whole book is as controversial as these passages suggest. Nor is it to be regretted that its author has spoken out boldly. His book is to be welcomed as a brave and scholarly attempt to re-interpret Anglo-Saxon England from a point of view which owes as much to linguistics, archæology and art-history as it does to 'straight-history'. As such it is to be recommended to all students of the period. It is written lucidly and has been most attractively produced, with nine maps, seven figures in the text, and sixteen plates, which are all relevant and always on or opposite the appropriate page of text, so that the reader is helped, not only to understand, but also to see.

Merton College, Oxford

R. H. C. DAVIS

STUDIES IN THE AGRARIAN HISTORY OF ENGLAND IN THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY. By E. A. Kosminsky, translated by Ruth Kisch and edited by R. H. Hilton. Oxford: Blackwell. 1956. xxvii + 370 pp. 37s. 6d.

The agrarian history of medieval England has been greatly enriched by the work of Russian scholars since Kovalevsky published his first researches in this field eighty years ago; and Professor Kosminsky is the inheritor of a noble tradition for he was a pupil both of Petrushevsky who was 'greatly

influenced' by Vinogradoff, and of Savine who was Vinogradoff's pupil. The main lines of Kosminsky's own work in English history—based to a large extent upon intensive study of the Hundred Rolls—were made known to students in this country by three articles published in the *Economic History Review* between 1928 and 1935; and the present volume provides in full measure the important statistical results of his prolonged and patient researches illuminated by much illustrative material. It is not a new work, but a 'somewhat abbreviated' translation of a book that appeared originally in 1935 and was republished in 1947 in a revised form which embodied fresh material. This does not mean, however, that it is in any sense 'out of date'. A book containing such a mass of evidence drawn from original sources can never really be out of date; but, apart from that, one notes that Kosminsky's acquaintance with the English literature bearing upon his subject is not limited to the older work and that account has been taken of some published since the date of the revised Russian edition.

Though the author himself emphasizes the fact that it has not been his aim 'to give anything like a complete picture of the agrarian structure of medieval England' even within his chosen period, and says that he 'intended only to subject to critical review some of the problems which seemed important and at the same time incorrectly or insufficiently treated by previous historians', he has certainly made a weighty and valuable contribution to knowledge and one which no serious student of the subject can afford to neglect.

The book begins with a critical account of the sources which is both lucid and judicious. This is followed by an elaborate exposition of the statistics which Kosminsky has derived from those sources and of the nature and variety of manorial structure revealed by this evidence. We have here the 'main course' of the banquet. The matter is solid and abundant; and any attempt to summarize in a few sentences the conclusions that are drawn from it would involve over-simplification and could hardly fail to do the author injustice. One can only say that the whole of this section deserves serious consideration and critical scrutiny and fully justifies the claim made in a note on the dust-cover that 'even those who do not accept all Professor Kosminsky's conclusions will find here a stimulus to new formulations and the starting point for what may be a fruitful controversy'. The later chapters are more discursive and the author becomes less sure-footed when he steps outside the thirteenth century, while this part of the book gives one the impression of being a good deal dominated by the notion that social history is mainly a matter of class warfare and that the poor were not only wronged, but were generally in the right—even on legal points. Yet in regard to such tendencies the reader has been fairly and honestly warned, for in the preface Kosminsky says frankly that his work 'has been written on the basis of Marxist-Leninist method', and in the book itself we are from time to time reminded of this by quotations from the scriptures of the communist faith. It is indeed rather pathetic and gives occasion for a smile—or a tear—to be told (on p. 34) that 'Lenin has pointed out that data on the area of arable land are an insufficient basis on which to form a judgement of the character of a holding'. No doubt agrarian historians have not always kept that obvious truth in mind; but is not this rather as if one were to say that there are statements in the Bible from which one can infer that two and two make four?

Things of this kind must not however be allowed to obscure the merits and real importance of Kosminsky's researches. And obviously those researches cannot be fully appraised in a brief review. But a few criticisms may be made even now.

The broad generalization that labour rents 'were concentrated principally in the east of the country', or, in other words, 'in the areas of the greatest development of economic activity' (pp. 192-3) seems, in its full extension, to be reached on insufficient grounds. Though this geographical pattern is revealed for the limited region covered by the surviving Hundred Rolls of 1279, the labour-service system is also shown to have been especially characteristic of large ecclesiastical manors (such as are particularly to the fore in the northern hundreds of Huntingdonshire), and this fact surely makes it very hazardous to extend the geographical contrast over those south-western regions of England where great ecclesiastical estates abounded (e.g. Winchester, Shaftesbury, Glastonbury, Worcester), since the evidence is here confined to the inquisitions *post mortem* which were not concerned with the demesne manors of undying corporations. To take another point, a sentence in the Hundred Rolls is misinterpreted on p. 293. It runs thus: *Item veniet ad curiam Sancti Michaelis cum filiis suis, si quos habuerit, qui panem suum lucrari potuerint; de quibus dictus W. de Spina (the villein) unum eligere poterit, ut sibi serviat; et alii, si dominus indigeat, si servire voluerint, domino deserviant.* Clearly this means that the villein could reserve one of his sons to work on his own holding. But Kosminsky mistakes the meaning of the reflexive pronoun and says that one of the sons, chosen by the villein, 'is bound to enter the house or farm service of the lord'. Then, in an account of the case between the abbot of Bec and the tenants of Ogbourne, which turned on the question whether the manor was 'ancient demesne', we are told that Domesday Book records two manors—'one, Ogbourne Regis, belonging to the King, and the other belonging to Miles Crispin'—and that the manor in dispute was judged to be the one that had belonged to Miles, 'which was plainly incorrect' (p. 343). No reason whatever is given to support the assumption that the court decided wrongly; and in fact there is pretty good evidence that the decision was correct. Both Great Ogbourne and Little Ogbourne were given to Bec by Maud of Wallingford, who in her charter (printed in Dugdale VI, 1016) describes them as *de hereditate mei*. And she was either the widow or the daughter of Miles Crispin. One notes too, in regard to all this matter of privileged tenure on ancient demesne, that the author appears to be unacquainted with the powerful criticism which Professor Hoyt has brought to bear upon the orthodox theory of its origin.

The editing of an abbreviated translation such as this cannot have been an easy task. But here and there one feels that a little more care might have been exercised. Small discrepancies between the figures in the tables and those in the text are rather frequent (*cf.* Tables II and IV with pp. 96-8 and 112). Jurors who on p. 259 are said to be 179 in number are on the next page divided into groups which add up to 185. On p. 192 the reader is referred to 'Map No. 2', though there are no maps at all in the volume. In a footnote on p. 328 the misprint of 'south-west Germany' for 'south-east Germany' is unfortunately one that may be seriously misleading to the unwary.

REGINALD LENNARD

The third volume of the modern edition of William of Ockham's political writings, *GUILLELMI DE OCKHAM OPERA POLITICA* (Manchester University Press. 1956. ix + 322 pp. 55s.), has now appeared. Despite its numeration, this volume is in fact the second in the series from the point of view of actual publication. Mr. H. S. Offler, who has been responsible for the editing of all the three treatises included, has not had an easy task. Only one manuscript (cod. lat. 3387 of the Paris Bibliothèque Nationale) is known to exist and, to make matters worse, that manuscript is a bad one, marred by frequent mistakes and omissions. Under such difficulties Mr. Offler has produced a remarkable example of critical editing and reconstruction. Only one treatise (*Epistola ad Fratres Minores*) has been printed in full before. The three works all date from the 1330's and deal largely with the arid theological controversies on Evangelical Poverty and the nature of the Beatific Vision enjoyed by the saved after death. In both disputes Ockham is in his polemical element as a dogged supporter of the rebellious Conventual Franciscans and an unsparing denigrator of the decisions of the Avignon Popes John XXII and Benedict XII. *Odium theologicum* hangs heavily over all three writings; often the reader may have the impression that Ockham does little more than score casuistical debating points. Yet these tractates occupy an important place in the development of Ockham's characteristic theories on religious and political authority or, as Mr. Offler puts it '—the right relations, the fair delimitation of functions and frontiers, between Church and State'. In *Contra Joannem* discussion of the Pope's errors on the Beatific Vision leads Ockham to formulate his theory of the unanimous consensus of the faithful as the source of ecclesiastical authority, while in *Contra Benedictum* he moves on to his first treatment of specifically political problems through a discussion of Papal claims to regulate the succession to the Empire. The three treatises were written by Ockham *propria voce* and hence present fewer difficulties of interpretation than the more bafflingly impersonal works like the *Dialogus*, though the same impressive arsenal of Scriptural, Patristic and Canonistic equipment is just as much in evidence. The Manchester University Press is to be congratulated on the fine appearance and printing of this volume and it may be hoped that the completion of the series will give us the necessary condition for the understanding of this branch of Ockham's thought.

University College, Dublin

J. B. MORRALL

THE RECORDS OF MEDIEVAL ENGLAND (C.U.P. 1956. 22 pp. 3s. 6d.), the inaugural lecture by C. R. Cheney as Professor of Medieval History in the University of Cambridge, provides a most eloquent plea for a sane and realistic approach to the subject, and enjoins the student 'to appreciate the historical process not simply by reading smooth historical narratives but by practising the technique of the historian'. Cambridge is to be congratulated on its new professor.

Four new additions to the *Que sais-je?* series will be of interest to students of medieval history. *MARCHANDS ET BANQUIERS DU MOYEN AGE*, by Jacques le Goff (Paris: Presses Universitaires. 1956. 128 pp.), gives, in small compass, an admirable account of the part played by business-men in the Latin West between the eleventh and the fifteenth century. In *ALBIGEOIS ET CATHARES* (Paris: Presses Universitaires. 1955. 125 pp.) Fernand Niel provides a clear and up-to-date account of Manichæism and its origins, the spread of

Catharism in Western Europe, and the Albigensian crusade. An interesting feature of the book is that it gives, in summary form, the author's reasons for believing that the castle of Montségur in the Pyrenees was a Catharist temple. *LES PÈLERINAGES*, by Romain Roussel (Paris: Presses Universitaires. 1956. 120 pp.) is primarily a work for anthropologists, since it discusses the phenomena of pilgrimages in almost all religions and ages. The author takes a rationalist view of his subject. He is liable to be misleading on historical matters. To the studies of French provinces in this series has been added the *HISTOIRE DE LA TOURAINE* (Paris: Presses Universitaires. 1956. 128 pp.) by P. Leveel.

THE SHRINE OF OUR LADY OF WALSINGHAM by J. C. Dickinson (Cambridge University Press. 1956. xiii + 150 pp. and 9 plates. 18s.) is based on a close study of the existing record-material. It will be of use not only to archaeologists and local historians, but also to students of medieval pilgrimages.

EARLY MODERN

Not only bibliographers or typographical experts will find matter for instruction in Mrs. Elizabeth Armstrong's *ROBERT ESTIENNE, ROYAL PRINTER* (Cambridge University Press. 1954. xxii + 310 pp. 55s.): her book on the elder Stephanus will appeal to students of Humanism and the Reformation, and show how much more important in these movements were the printers in France than in this country. The Estiennes have been treated by A. A. Renouard, but the present study, on the greatest of them, is historically more illuminating. Born of a printing family, taking over from his father and developing a printing business hard by the University of Paris, Robert Estienne was both editor and publisher in one. Of the fifty-two folio volumes issued by him before 1551, Mrs. Armstrong estimates that by far the majority were of his own editorship or compilation. The author of the *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae* set himself to secure the best texts and carried the same method into his printing of bibles; but it was his glosses and comments on his biblical editions that got him into trouble with the theological censors of the University, and the story of his breach with the Faculty of Theology and his departure in November 1550 to Geneva is told in full. No less rewarding is Mrs. Armstrong's account of the difficulties he encountered when settling down there. The book is full of fine typographical points, e.g. Estienne's use of the olive tree; and of explanations and comment on phrases like royal privilege, licence, authority. The chapters on Estienne's relations with the harassed Syndics and Council of Geneva provide an essential background to Calvin's environment. Lastly, the book, especially plates I and V, is printed in a fashion of which Robert would have approved.

All Souls College, Oxford

E. F. JACOB

MOUNTJOY: ELIZABETHAN GENERAL. By Cyril Falls. London: Odhams Press. 1955. 256 pp. 21s.

This book arises from Professor Falls's larger and more general work on *Elizabeth's Irish Wars*. It inevitably goes over again much ground covered before, but the military events in which Mountjoy was personally and directly concerned are given additional detail and the others sketched more lightly.

About one third of the volume is devoted to the fighting against O'Neill and O'Donnell during the critical years 1600-3 when Mountjoy was Lord Deputy. To this is prefixed a sketch of his earlier life and experiences at Court and in the Queen's service in the Netherlands, Brittany and at sea, together with some brief reference to the rather shadowy part he played in the House of Commons. The volume concludes with his service under James I as a distinguished member of the Council and the House of Lords, with the title of Earl of Devonshire. The work is inevitably of uneven value. The early chapters suffer from paucity of material but we are able to see Mountjoy in an occasional bright light as a young man, son of the impoverished and spendthrift sixth baron, beginning to climb to fortune when his 'great, black and lovely' eyes caught the roving eye of the middle-aged Queen. He became one of a group of cultured and elegant young men, patrons of the arts, all more energetically Protestant and Hispanophobe than the less ornamental but more sage advisers whom the Queen generally consulted and trusted. In these early years he was a serious student of military theory rather than an active soldier, though he managed to gain some practical amphibious experience. At Court he met Essex's beautiful and irresponsible sister, Penelope Rich, and became her lover. He narrowly escaped being involved in the Essex conspiracy by being sent to Ireland as his successor. Then came the brief years of his glory. Professor Falls rightly emphasizes Mountjoy's gifts as a military leader, certainly the most successful and perhaps the most reliable of Elizabeth's generals. He combined determination with caution as a technician and his skilful strategic planning showed that he had the elements of what are now termed the logistics of war. There are gaps in the sources used, for example on the naval side, and perhaps Essex's military capacity is rated too highly; but this volume is a readable, and within the limits of its plan a satisfying biography of an Elizabethan figure hitherto imperfectly known.

University of Sheffield

F. J. ROUTLEDGE

MR. SECRETARY CECIL AND QUEEN ELIZABETH. By Conyers Read. London: Cape. 1955. 510 pp. 40s.

As those familiar with Dr. Conyers Read's *Sir Francis Walsingham* will expect, his present work is far more than a biography. In giving the authoritative account of diplomatic manoeuvres and political intrigues at Elizabeth's court between 1558 and 1570, it performs for the first part of her reign what the author's earlier volumes did for the middle part. The only comparable study is neither Nares's *Life* nor Hume's *Great Lord Burghley*, but Froude's *Reign of Elizabeth*, to which Dr. Conyers Read pays generous tribute. On the whole, Froude comes well out of a comparison with the acknowledged master of Elizabethan diplomatic history; but a new discussion of the period was badly needed. These first ten years of Elizabeth's reign are the most difficult for the student to know. Froude himself relied much upon the reports of the Spanish ambassadors, and the calendars of other records—the State Papers and the Salisbury manuscripts, for example—are, for these years, sadly inadequate. A real need, therefore, has been satisfied by this complete and scholarly account, filled with quotations from the sources.

Essentially, this is the story of the partnership between Elizabeth and William Cecil, from its earliest days until 1571, when 'the time of his proba-

tion was ended'. In the beginning, Elizabeth, insensitive to religious arguments, often disagreed with her Secretary, who was then much concerned with the defence of Protestantism. Gradually, however, the Queen came to recognize the importance of religion in her diplomacy, while Cecil realized the dangers of intervention abroad. From that point onwards, their views were in general harmony. While acknowledging that Cecil sometimes found the Queen's indecision a handicap, Dr. Read is able convincingly to redress Froude's judgement that Elizabeth was a weak and vacillating ruler.

Dr. Read has chosen for this work a purely chronological arrangement, which, while entirely suitable to the discussion of diplomacy, sometimes fails to reveal other matters in a clear perspective. We should welcome, for example, some further account of the expansion of Cecil's household, for references to his great houses are only sandwiched briefly between parts of the main narrative. Perhaps this subject will be separately treated in the promised second volume. An account of the multifarious duties of the office of Secretary in Cecil's day would have added point to Dr. Read's remark that 'it was that quality in him, the quality of being better informed, which did much to increase his administrative prestige'. More important, Cecil's economic policy is considered only in its connection with parliamentary legislation and treaty negotiations. His contribution to native industry is ignored, and Dr. Read's verdict—that Cecil was 'in short an orthodox mercantilist at the very time that mercantilism in England was on the way out'—seems hardly adequate. But these are minor criticisms of a work that gives us our only reliable and definitive account of a momentous decade in English history.

University of Manchester

PENRY WILLIAMS

JAMES VI AND I. By D. H. Willson. London: Cape. 1955. 480 pp. 30s.

This biography will extend the author's already high reputation to a wider public, for it is a book for the general reader as well as the historian. Admirers of the author's earlier work in the field of seventeenth-century parliamentary history, notably his *Privy Councillors in the House of Commons, 1604-1629*, may regret the limitations imposed by the scale of his new book. Much of what he tells us must be taken on trust; references are few and are banished to the end of the book; illustrative material has been reduced to the minimum. As James was fond of telling his English subjects, he was an old King when he reached his promised land; more than a third of the book is very properly devoted to his years in the wilderness and the chapters covering his English reign have to move at a sharp pace. For these reasons the specialist cannot hope for much new light on the problems facing James I in England or much evidence of the use of new materials. In these chapters he must look rather for the balanced judgement of a scholar thoroughly at home in his period, and he will not be disappointed. In the Scottish chapters the author handles material less familiar to English readers and presents a picture in many respects new and important both as a contribution to Scottish history and as a prologue to the story of the English reign.

The construction of a biography of a ruling monarch resembles the composition of a concerto; the part of the solo instrument is meaningless without the orchestra, but the scoring of the orchestral parts must be light enough for the solo player to be heard above them. In achieving this delicate balance

Professor Willson has been outstandingly successful. Contemporary issues in both kingdoms are lucidly presented but are never allowed to obscure the personality of the King. The contrast in the political structure of the two kingdoms strikes one afresh; to find any English parallel to 'the grim and bloody barons' of Scottish politics one would have to go back to the Wars of the Roses. Yet the superficial resemblances were sufficient to deceive the King. In domestic affairs he had succeeded, for in Scotland survival must be accounted success; in external affairs he had won the great prize of the English succession without striking a blow. Natural vanity predisposed him to believe that the same tactics would preserve both prerogative and Palatinate. All this is admirably developed. Professor Willson seems to be less happy in his exposition of religious themes, and economic questions are scarcely touched upon although here again the differences between Scotland and England would seem to be fundamental.

As the subject of a royal character study James offers one obvious attraction, for few Kings have talked so freely and none has written so much. Against this must be set the overwhelming disadvantage of a personality so dislikeable as to destroy that bond of sympathy between author and subject necessary to the ideal biography. Professor Willson is scrupulously fair to James, but one is conscious of distaste amounting at times to nausea. He does not disguise the nature of James' personal relations with his favourites, but it is his neglect and betrayal of finer spirits which he finds it harder to forgive, more particularly his treatment of Salisbury. It is a merit of the book that the author does not try to oversimplify a character full of the strangest contradictions. It was only at the end that James became wholly repulsive and it was a national misfortune that physical deterioration and a loosening of mental and moral fibre should have overtaken the King just as the crisis of the reign developed. On p. 440 there is an unfortunate misprint in the quotation from Psalm 114: 'when Israel came out of Egypt' appears as 'when I shall come out of Egypt'.

EVANGELINE DE VILLIERS

SIR KENELM DIGBY: THE ORNAMENT OF ENGLAND, 1603-1665. By R. T. Petersson. London: Jonathan Cape. 1956. 366 pp. 25s.

This excellent book cannot be overlooked by students of seventeenth-century history and literature. Sir Kenelm Digby was a character, a virtuoso, a collector, for a short time more or less a pirate, a courtier, an admirer of female beauty, a theologian, a scientific investigator, almost a philosopher; he was indeed a fine and useful dabbler in intellectual affairs. A good deal has been written about him and this is easily the best account so far. Mr. Petersson's analysis of Digby's philosophical positions seems to a layman acute and just. Digby devoted many pages to his theology and to his theories of the body and soul and his latest biographer has set forth those theories with detachment and impartiality, yet without evading issues. With the utmost care the author has characterized Sir Kenelm as a scientist, pointing out what he did well, but admitting that he was neither a distinguished theorist nor a great experimenter. It has to be said for him that he was modern in his inclination to measure rather than to classify. He was 'a large man straddling the old world and the new, a perfect mingling of the Old Authority and the New Experimentalism'. What he did best was to

communicate between scientists. He knew where the leading experimenters were and what they were doing and spread the news. He was in touch too with philosophers and told Hobbes of Descartes and diverted the flow of Cartesian thought to England.

His biographer has covered a wide range of sources, combing English, French and Italian writings and memoirs, though he has possibly missed a few of the many allusions to Digby in the reports of the English ambassadors. Several of them knew Digby and liked him but smiled about him; they deemed him a troublesome propagandist and were glad to see him leave for other parts.

Mr. Petersson has done so careful a piece of work that criticism seems pedantic. Yet he tells us that Digby enjoyed his place in the King's Privy Council and in a supporting footnote cites the Venetian ambassador as quoting Digby's own letter. What Soranzo said was: 'It is announced that Sir Kenelm Digby, whom your Excellencies know, will very soon be added to the Council of State.' No doubt Sir Kenelm fancied himself for such a post, as he did for other exalted places, but he was far from obtaining it. The author has a way of fitting Kenelm into possible or probable settings. He puts him into the whirlpool of polite entertainment in Paris with a 'very likely', and he thinks of him as attending Madame Rambouillet's salon with a 'Here he may have been found'. Such suggestions are not wholly to be condemned but seem unnecessary.

Mr. Petersson writes with facility, with grace, and with distinction. He is always readable even when he is setting forth the ins and outs of Digby's religious opinions. It is interesting to learn that another book, *Sir Kenelm Digby, Gentiluomo di Qualità*, by Dr. Vittorio Gabriele of the Istituto Italiano di Cultura in London, is about to appear. Dr. Gabriele will use forty-six hitherto unpublished letters by Digby now owned in New York. Several years ago I was informed by a learned and trustworthy man of a considerable collection of Digby letters in an Italian library. Possibly they are the letters now in New York, possibly not. Letters from Digby and references to him will continue to turn up for some time yet. It is a comment on 'the ornament of England' that the interest in him is apparently greater than ever before. Whatever may yet be published Mr. Petersson's book ought always to have an important place in 'Digbeiana', for its brilliant examination of Digby's thought in a time when thought was changing rapidly.

Yale University

WALLACE NOTESTEIN

It may seem odd that Richard Ehrenberg's classic *Das Zeitalter der Fugger* should sixty years after its appearance be published for the first time in French translation (LE SIÈCLE DES FUGGER. Paris: S.E.V.P.E.N. 433 pp. 2000 fr.), but it is not without interest for English readers. It is less abridged than the English edition, the footnotes are much fuller, there are several appendices, more in fact than in the original German, and there is an up-to-date bibliography of relevant works which have appeared since 1896.

ESMERALDO DE SITU ORBIS POR DUARTE PACHECO PEREIRA, edited by Damião Peres (Lisbon: Academia Portuguesa da História. 1954. xxix + 238 pp.), is the third Portuguese edition of an early sixteenth-century navigational treatise (surviving only in two eighteenth-century transcripts) which provides us with the earliest eyewitness's description of the African

coasts. It is very inadequately annotated and hence inferior to the English translation edited for the Hakluyt Society (2nd series, vol. LXXIX) by G. H. T. Kimble in 1937.

LATER MODERN

The Hanoverian-born Friedrich Ernst von Fabrice is known to historians mainly through his connection with Charles XII of Sweden: his conception of that King and his memories of him are mirrored in Voltaire's biography of Charles XII, written in London in the 1720's when Voltaire frequently met and consulted Fabrice; and the despatches which Fabrice wrote to the Duke-Administrator of Holstein during the years when he was accredited to Charles XII in Turkey have, in their German, French and English printed versions (published after Fabrice's death and with many passages suppressed), become one of the most readily accessible accounts of the 'Turkey-period' of Charles XII's reign.

A recent discovery in Germany of Fabrice's personal memoirs, written in French in the 1730's and based in part on earlier journals and fragments of autobiographical writing, puts Fabrice himself in the centre of the picture as he traces his life from childhood down to his London years in the service of George I. The manuscript of the memoirs has been translated into German and edited—with correspondence and other papers relating to Fabrice—by Rudolf Grieser in *DIE MEMOIREN DES KAMMERHERRN FRIEDRICH ERNST VON FABRICE (1683–1750), EIN LEBENSBIOD IN SELBSTZEUGNISSEN AUS DEM ZEITALTER DES BAROCK* (Quellen und Darstellungen zur Geschichte Niedersachsens, Band 54. Hildesheim: August Lax Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1956. 176 pp.). The purist might have preferred to have the memoirs in their original French, but the translation is well done and the editor's work is conscientious. Some misprints or errors in dates stand in need of correction: Duke Frederick of Holstein-Gottorp died in 1702, not 1703 (p. 29, n. 1) and the letter to George Augustus, on p. 111, is of November 1714, not 1711. In his memoirs Fabrice reminisces at length about the women in his past; his gallant adventures may sound exaggerated at times but they make amusing reading and help to fill out that picture 'in the round' which Fabrice draws of himself and his age, fully justifying the subtitle chosen by the editor for the memoirs. Of particular interest to the historian is the fresh information about the Swedish Court in Turkey from 1710–14; the details of the secret, but abortive, peace negotiations between George I and Charles XII in which Fabrice was involved in the 1714–18 period, and the account (in the section devoted to correspondence and other papers) of the last journey and illness of George I. Of the portraits illustrating the memoirs from Schloss Söder, where the original manuscript was found in the possession of descendants of the Fabrice family on the female side, the one of Charles XII—said to have been in the possession of Fabrice himself—is striking.

London School of Economics

RAGNHILD HATTON

AN ECONOMIC HISTORY OF ENGLAND: THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY. By T. S. Ashton. London: Methuen, 1955. vi + 257 pp. 18s.

Most historians are required to produce two kinds of books: monographs, and

wide-sweeping general surveys incorporating the research of others. T. S. Ashton has made outstanding contributions in these two categories with his work on Iron and Steel and his unsurpassed *Industrial Revolution*. In his new book, the first in a series edited by him which will cover the economic history of England, he returns to writing history as a starting point for economic theory. In his preface, he explicitly disclaims the grand view and scorns analysis in terms of 'isms'. He sets out 'to find answers . . . to the questions economists ask, or should ask, of the past'. For this, we need more facts. Some of those gathered by Professor Ashton and his assistants are in this book; but the author also aids our judgement by numerous quotations from contemporary observers. The shrewd insight of a Tucker, the malice of a Temple, or Defoe's nose for oddities temper the austerity of a long series of Sterling Exchange Rates on Hamburg.

Professor Ashton never fails to point to the limitation of his own methods—the shortcomings of contemporary statistics for instance, or the often patchy nature of evidence. In some ways he has the merits of Clapham: an eye for the unusual product of industry, a proper stress on lesser-known innovators and entrepreneurs (thus deflating the sadly over-worked Watt-and-Bakewell heroes of older books), and a knowledge of the importance of minority groups like Jews and Quakers. His wide academic (and industrial) contacts enable him to draw on many unpublished materials and opinions, and we have glimpses of great riches still to come.

It is not very surprising that, in a life-time, Professor Ashton has acquired some strong views. The rate of interest plays a larger part in his scheme of things than would be conceded by those who think of it more as a mirror of conditions than a cause of changes in activity. Entrepreneurs are a little more like heroes, and wage-earners a little less like miserable victims, than they were in the tradition of Toynbee and the Hammonds. But this salutary corrective will be welcome to all those who have tried to teach economic history to the young, who invariably take the gloomiest view of the Industrial Revolution.

If range and felicitous expression remind us of Clapham, the method is different: Sir John knew his economic theory but did not care to use it. Here we have an attempt to take into account a good part of modern economic thinking. Admittedly, theories of development are not discussed, but that was not the aim. If Adam Smith is often quoted, it is as the forerunner of more recent views (such as, in the chapter on Labour, his very modern ideas on the effect of better wages and conditions on output) and not as the bastion of outmoded thought.

This is a book which will not be easily ousted as an aid to the more advanced undergraduate or the researcher. It is a happy compromise between despair about the absence of data and over-confident use of the little we know. We have brought home to us, effortlessly, the emergence of a more-than-regional economy and the impact of change, without resort to catastrophic interpretations. The extremes are not denied: but they are set in proper perspective. We look forward to the rest of the array under Ashtonian generalship.

University of Birmingham

DAVID EVERSLEY

MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT 1734-1832. By Gerrit P. Judd IV. New Haven: Yale University Press. London: Cumberlege. 1955. viii + 389 pp. 48s.

This book is yet another piece of evidence that the biographical approach to the study of Parliament is finding favour in the United States. Professor Judd has sought to utilize some sociological concepts and has employed in their application some modern statistical methods. Those who have read Professor W. O. Aydelotte's article 'A statistical analysis of the parliament of 1841: some problems of method' (*Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, vol. xxvii, pp. 141 sqq.) will perhaps be more aware of some of the difficulties involved in the use of statistics than Professor Judd appears to be. It may also be thought that much research needs to be done before the period covered by Professor Judd can be adequately treated as he has tried to treat it. As it is, most of the data in this book are drawn from fairly accessible printed works; what these give us is neither as full nor as accurate as could be wished. To this it might be replied that there is no good reason for not doing forthwith what can now be done, that what has been done by Professor Judd is of present utility, and that in due course others can correct his errors and supply his omissions. If his analyses reveal nothing that will greatly surprise students of the period, they are none the worse for that. If his definitions are at times lacking in precision, attempts to be more precise might easily have been misleading.

University College, London

MARK A. THOMSON

THE LISBON EARTHQUAKE. By T. D. Kendrick. London: Methuen. 1956. x + 170 pp. 21s.

This book is a lively account, intended for the general reader but profitable also for the specialist, of the Lisbon disaster of 1 November 1755 and its European repercussions. The author relies in factual matters on standard contemporary and modern works, but also makes excellent use of a very wide knowledge of the sermons and controversial literature occasioned throughout Europe by the earthquake.

After a chapter on some English reactions to minor earthquake shocks in 1750 which forms an admirable introduction to eighteenth-century attitudes on the subject, the author gives a vividly circumstantial description of the Lisbon disaster, the extent of the damage, human and material, and the energetic practical counter-measures taken by the Pombal régime. Pombal however found a major hindrance to the work of relief and restoration in the emotions generated by the catastrophe,—'the bitter religious despondency caused by the common belief that the origin of the great earthquake was supernatural'. With this Sir Thomas Kendrick is led to the heart of his subject, for the historical importance of the earthquake lies, not in its material effects—these, though serious, were not irreparable and in some respects were ultimately turned to Portugal's economic advantage—but in the profound shock it administered to European feeling and belief.

Scientific accounts of the natural causes of the disaster were very hypothetical and little heeded. The general explanation, as the author's wealth of contemporary evidence illustrates, was that it was a direct manifestation of God's wrath. This view allowed of various interpretations: it inspired that absorption in prayer and penance to the neglect of practical action which embarrassed Pombal: some Portuguese preachers saw the earthquake as a

loving if deserved chastisement, as new evidence of that divine predilection for Portugal which formed part of the national legend: to a French Jansenist it was a judgement against the Jesuits and the birthplace of Molinism: while to Protestant divines it seemed a well-earned retribution for Catholic superstition and inquisitorial horrors. Everywhere, for a time at least, it shattered the moral and religious indifference of Europe. The public fast-day appointed in England in February 1756 was universally observed, and churches were thronged.

For many of less orthodox convictions the earthquake was if anything even more disquieting. Sir Thomas Kendrick presents eighteenth-century optimism as a superficial popular creed, the reflection of a general mood of frivolous complacency: but it was surely more than that. To the rational deist, the existence of evil and suffering in a world necessarily regarded as the perfect creation of the Supreme Reason constituted a genuine philosophical difficulty. He could account for them only by emphasizing the limited nature of human insight into the divine purpose—'all discord, harmony not understood'. This exaltedly speculative solution however availed little against the concrete realities of human misery: Voltaire, as this book shows once again, had little difficulty in proving its inadequacy. The end-product of Lisbon was thus a new and healthier mood of cautious meliorism. Voltaire and Pombal were at one in advocating practical measures to improve man's material lot, as against the passivity which can result equally from an other-worldly preoccupation with personal salvation and from a philosophical conviction that 'whatever is, is right'. *Il faut cultiver notre jardin.*

Birkbeck College, London

W. H. BARBER

EUROPE'S CLASSICAL BALANCE OF POWER. By Edward Vose Gulick. New York: Cornell University Press. London: Cumberlege. 1955. xvii + 337 pp. 45s.

This is an analysis of the aims, basic assumptions, and means of ensuring the success of balances of power, followed by a longer examination of the balance of power at work between 1812 and 1815. Professor Gulick's treatment is lucid, rather wordy, and also, perhaps, rather less original than he imagines. A good bibliography, which duly records the many books or essays on the balance of power, indeed appears flatly to contradict his assertion that professional historians 'have never spelled out the origins of the idea of the balance of power' and have overlooked it 'as an important principle of European diplomacy'. Nevertheless, spelling out his own definitions, Professor Gulick does offer a lively and systematic discussion of the concepts which the phrase left in the minds of its users. There are four major assumptions: the existence of a state system, a framework of generally recognized size with a limited number of entities, relative homogeneity within the state system, and a rational system of estimating power. The basic aim of the balance was to insure the survival of independent states; this was fundamental to the 'classical' balance-of-power system and must be distinguished from those goals, such as 'peace' and to a lesser degree the 'status quo', which were incidental to it. The means are varied and form the most penetrating part of the analysis.

The first is vigilance, or in Bacon's words, 'princes do keep due sentinel, that none of their neighbours do overgrow'. To prevent overgrowth, periodic

redistributions of territory and wealth are theoretically possible and in practice quite impossible: the alliance of two or more against the over-powerful sovereign is the practicable alternative. Intervention, which involves the paradox of aggression to prevent aggression, and presents the 'balance-of-power idealist' with his greatest dilemma, may be a further necessity. One power (England's traditional rôle) may 'hold' the balance. Other means of securing the ends of a balance-of-power system are mobility of action, reciprocal compensation, preservation of the component parts of the balance by moderation in victory, coalitions, and war.

But the difficulty with the use of the phrase in a technical sense has always been an unconquerable vagueness which will allow it to describe almost any relationship between independent states; the most uninhibited conqueror of *Lebensraum* can claim that he is merely an equilibrist seeking equality of opportunity for his people. As soon as the term became, for no particular reason, unfashionable it was replaced by others equally vague. Professor Gulick's introductory essay is therefore in effect a brief account of the general mechanism of international relations. His second part, which deals with the application of balance-of-power conceptions in the diplomacy of the years 1812 to 1815, duly interprets each phase by giving it the appropriate label: 'defending the balance' (i.e. the coalition against Napoleon); 'refining the balance', 'restoring the balance', 'the coalition begins the settlement', 'creation of a new territorial equilibrium', and the like. This results in a useful medium-length sketch of the peacemaking, but it does not really meet the objection (although there is a brief approach to this point on pp. 156-9) that many of these developments could be described equally well by other phrases such as the 'concert of Europe'.

London School of Economics

W. N. MEDLICOTT

BISMARCK'S VERANTWORTLICHKEIT. By Leonhard von Muralt. Göttingen: Musterschmidt Verlag. 1955. 234 pp. DM. 16.80.

BISMARCK, THE MAN AND THE STATESMAN. By A. J. P. Taylor. London: Hamish Hamilton. 1955. 286 pp. 18s.

In *Bismarck's Responsibility*, the Zürich historian Professor Muralt has collected and revised six lectures, the third and fifth hitherto unpublished. The first, on the creation of the empire, establishes Muralt's standpoint: Prussia was the state predestined to end foreign interference in Germany, unification was possible only under the leadership of Prussia as a great power, and Bismarck's three wars were political necessities. Two more novel contributions follow, on Bismarck's faith and on his 'responsibility' as a statesman to God and Germany. Bismarck's Lutheranism, with its conviction of the political impracticability of the Sermon on the Mount, and of the duty of submission, is exhaustively treated. Muralt insists that Bismarck was not responsible for the later German imperialism which produced two world wars, and postulates his constant striving to ensure the European balance, and thereby peace, by strengthening central Europe under Prussia-Germany's leadership against the aggressive European wings. After castigating his successors for abandoning this policy, Muralt proceeds to offer counsel for the future: the British Commonwealth should combine with Germany, France and other European states uncommitted to the American and Russian power systems in a new Metternich-Bismarck 'policy of the European centre' to impose

world peace by holding the balance. The last lecture gives an interesting analytical summary of recent writing on Bismarck, but while professing impartiality does less than justice to historians critical of Muralt's hero.

Mr. Taylor's biography gives a much truer picture of that extraordinary mixture of genius and petty nastiness, brutal man of action and neurotic political artist. His psychological approach is more appropriate than Muralt's heavy *theologie-geschichtlich* treatment, but produces some superficialities of judgement (unqualified practitioners, it has been observed, should not be let loose even on the dead). Impressed, like Muralt, by Bismarck's sense of Christian responsibility, Taylor reserves his admiration for Bismarck's *virtù*. His interpretation of Bismarck's foreign policy is shrewd, except for a perverse treatment of the Franco-Prussian war and occasional irritating absurdities (e.g. 'Italy was the only ally with whom he did not go to war; and that was merely from lack of opportunity'.) He sees in it brilliant improvisations before 1878; then, with the onset of Bismarck's conservative phase, the unnecessary, endless quest for a 'system' which was to give Germany security, but instead made her Austria's prisoner—a less novel view than its provocative presentation might suggest. Taylor's account of domestic affairs is more interesting but his judgements are often exaggerated. He disposes of the misconception of Bismarck and his policies as 'Junker'; there existed, he insists, opportunities for organic constitutional growth in Germany. Rightly stressing that tactical and personal considerations, rather than principles, determined Bismarck's policies, he goes too far in saying that Bismarck created the empire chiefly to increase his own power and that *Kleindeutschland* was an accidental solution. Salutary warnings against comparing Bismarckian Germany with Gladstonian England precede analogies with Hanoverian England which will surprise students of that subject. Taylor himself finally admits: 'Maybe such analogies do not take us very far.' In place of trivia, the book could profitably have included more factual information—in this respect Eyck's three-volume study remains indispensable. Great pains have been taken to make the biography interesting; not enough to exclude inaccuracies and inconsistencies. It is, nevertheless, a most welcome and readable book, stimulating and suggestive, and impartial in its treatment of the most controversial, as well as the most intractable biographical subject of modern times.

University of Hull

FRANK SPENCER

KNOWLEDGE AND REVOLUTION. THE RUSSIAN COLONY IN ZÜRICH (1870–1873), by J. M. Meijer (Assen (Holland): van Gorcum. 1955. 230 pp. Fl. 13.50), is a detailed if rather confused account of the activities—academic and political—of the Russian student community in Zürich. Special attention is devoted to women students, most of whom came to Switzerland seeking 'emancipation' and were drawn only gradually into politics. The picture of student life is not an edifying one. The followers of Bakunin quarrel furiously with those of Lavrov. The blackguard Nechaev flits across the scene. Having struggled through the book, the reader will echo Lavrov's verdict: 'I never saw so clearly before me all the triviality and pitiable way of life in Zürich.' The book is written in a language not the author's own, a fact grievously apparent on almost every page. It is a storehouse of information but not easily readable.

University of Glasgow

W. E. MOSSE

Students and teachers of eighteenth-century history will welcome the carefully compiled SELECT LIST OF WORKS ON EUROPE AND EUROPE OVERSEAS, 1715-1815, edited by J. S. Bromley and A. Goodwin (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1956. 132 pp. 7s. 6d.).

For serious contributions to the history of ideas we usually have to turn to students of literature and philosophy. If British historians in particular, in their more general works, venture to refer to this subject, what they say is usually jejune when it is not nonsense. At the same time it must be admitted that the history of ideas is itself as yet rather an unformed discipline, in which the misses are much more common than the hits. VOLTAIRE AND THE STATE (Columbia University Press. London: Cumberlege. xi + 254 pp. 32s.), by Constance Rowe, is a conscientious and useful survey of Voltaire's views on social and political questions, but a profound approach to political theory is hardly suggested by recourse to the *Encyclopædia Britannica* for an 'authoritative' definition of liberalism; and the conflict between Voltaire's humanitarian and liberal ideals and his desire for a strong and efficient state, to say nothing of his admiration for Louis XIV and the enlightened despots, is denied rather than seriously discussed. Sister Mary O'Connor, in THE HISTORICAL THOUGHT OF FRANÇOIS GUIZOT (Washington: The Catholic University of America Press. 1955. 98 pp. \$1.25), is content to summarize the ideas expressed in the earlier historical writings of Guizot. Jacques Voisine's J.-J. ROUSSEAU EN ANGLETERRE À L'ÉPOQUE ROMANTIQUE: LES ÉCRITS AUTOBIOGRAPHIQUES ET LA LÉGENDE (Paris: Didier. 1956. 482 pp.) confines its attention to the influence of Rousseau the man, to the exclusion of the influence of his ideas. It may be thought that this is to deprive the book of most of what might have given it significance. It remains an exhaustive and mainly biographical study of English admirers of Rousseau from 1778 to 1830, which will be useful for reference. Only on Hazlitt does the book become something more than a painstaking and scholarly compilation. On the other hand, ALEXIS DE TOCQUEVILLE: THE CRITICAL YEARS, 1848-1851, by Edward T. Gargan (Washington: The Catholic University of America Press. 1955. 324 pp. \$3.50), is a good example of what can be achieved by a thoughtful mind reflecting on material of significance. Mr. Gargan brings out the errors of judgement into which de Tocqueville fell and the disillusion which his experience in government during the Second Republic produced, as well as his insight into fundamentals. An interesting comparison of the reactions of de Tocqueville and Marx to the same political events shows them as surprisingly close in their analyses. They both saw the growth of the great French bureaucratic state as the key to the outbreak of the 1848 revolution and the rise of the Second Empire; but while Marx accepted the failure of the Second Republic as a step on the path to the ultimate and true revolution, de Tocqueville went back to discover where the quest for liberty had gone astray. One would like to see Mr. Gargan follow up this promising book with research on the actual social and class conditions in France at this turning-point in her history, many of the essential facts of which still remain to be discovered, and link these with the social and political thought of the time. How superficial can be playing about with such ideas in the absence of serious social analysis is shown by the new translation of two of the writings of the Russian exile, Alexander Herzen—FROM THE OTHER SHORE AND THE RUSSIAN PEOPLE

AND SOCIALISM, with an introduction by Isaiah Berlin (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson. 1956. 208 pp. 15s.)—on the revolutions of 1848. One may suppose that there are literary qualities in Herzen's writings which may be more obvious in the original Russian: in what seems quite a competent translation the most marked feature is their overwhelming verbosity.

AMERICAN

YANKEES AND CREOLES. By Richard Pares. London: Longmans. 1956. 175 pp. 25s.

The British colonies in North America and the West Indies were settled at approximately the same time, and by more or less the same kind of people; but while the North Americans were mostly obliged to live thriftily by mixed farming, fishing and trade, the West Indians, finding in sugar a crop which they could readily sell in England and which could make them rich by English standards, sank their capital in land and slaves and abandoned very largely the attempt to produce anything but sugar. By the end of the seventeenth century they had become dependent upon outside sources for the food they ate (and much of the food which they gave their slaves); for the horses they rode; for the wood in which they barrelled their sugar; and for the shipping which brought all these commodities to their barcadiers. North American merchants stepped in to supply these needs, taking rum, molasses, a little sugar and a little cash in return, conducting the trade in locally built ships, and with the profits paying for their own imports from England.

Such were the main, familiar lines of the famous 'triangular trade'. Professor Pares's book, based upon the ledgers and letters of individual merchants, describes for the first time the details of the trade: the people and the ships engaged in it, the scale of operations, the nature of cargoes out and home, the sources of the capital invested in the trade, and the nature and amount of the profits. He reveals a pattern of trade far more complex, and far more opportunist, than the orderly routine 'triangle' of the textbooks. Hundreds of small ships carried small but amazingly mixed and varied cargoes to an area full of small ports, the skippers constantly changing their routes and their markets when information or rumour led them to expect a better sale. No two voyages were exactly alike, and only a book such as this—a masterpiece of systematic compression—could describe the variety of detail without obscuring the general pattern of the trade. As it is, the conclusions are necessarily guarded: that the West India trade helped to keep the wheels of American commerce turning; that the trade contributed to the formation of American capital, but that it is difficult to say exactly how much. The economic conclusions, however, are not the most telling part of the book. Professor Pares reveals not only the complex details of a trade, but the deep gulf which separated two societies: differences in manners, in sense of values, in attitudes towards debt and social ostentation, in generosity and hospitality; even—and this was commercially as well as socially important—in food habits. Who but West Indian planters, for example, with slaves to feed, would pay good money for hundreds of barrels of menhaden—that oily

mockery of a herring which New Englanders catch by the ton, but would never dream of eating?

University College of the West Indies

J. H. PARRY

ENGLISH HISTORICAL DOCUMENTS. General Editor, David C. Douglas

Vol. ix, AMERICAN COLONIAL DOCUMENTS TO 1776. Edited by Merrill

Jensen. London: Eyre and Spottiswoode. 1955. xxiv + 888 pp. 80s.

This volume stands somewhat apart from the rest of Professor Douglas's series in being the only one devoted to colonies. The early colonial period has not hitherto been served by any handy documentary collection comparable with the two volumes produced by the Clarendon Press for the years 1774-1860. Together with these and Keith's selections in the 'World's Classics', the present work makes it possible to follow almost the whole of British imperial history through a compact body of source material. It is unfortunate that Professor Jensen's book is confined to the mainland colonies of North America. Given the quantity of records already printed by State governments and historical societies in the U.S.A., the task of selecting several hundred documents only must have been austere enough within these limits; but from an imperial point of view—surely the correct one for this series?—one may regret that the British West Indies and slaving stations have been excluded. In fact it is the present-day importance of the U.S.A. which seems to have given rise to this volume. Similar reasoning might explain why nearly a third of its pages are devoted to the events of 1763-76 and why only a quarter of its documents concern the seventeenth century. The sixteenth century is represented only by a chapter of Hakluyt; the Letters Patent of 1496, the basic English title to North America, do not appear at all. Pride of place over economic development (mainly in the eighteenth century) is given to political theory and constitutional evolution. In effect, we are given the record of American secession, not of British expansion.

The organization of Professor Jensen's work is nevertheless intelligible and well done. On the Revolution itself he is an acknowledged authority, able to 'phase' the whole movement sensitively and deal fairly with British attitudes. He is probably right to displace what orators and pamphleteers said in favour of what legislatures, officials and revolutionary organizers did. The documents and the step-by-step commentary on them make these sections the safest introduction to a subject still rich in controversial interpretation and far more complex than is usually realized. Throughout the work, indeed, the editorial commentary is balanced, critical, terse, informative. The extensive and interesting chapter bibliographies, evidently sent to press in 1953, constitute a research tool of great value. Had the editor been vouchsafed a subject index too, it would be clearer that he has illustrated, in passing, even those few aspects of early American history, such as Indian relations and the fur trade, which are apparently neglected. Sample tests show that the texts have been efficiently transcribed, despite a few errors (e.g. 'firmament' for 'firme' on p. 105).

One's main feeling about this volume, which should be read and not merely referred to, is of gratitude for the refreshment it contains. It has converted at least one doubter to Professor Douglas's notable enterprise.

Keble College, Oxford

J. S. BROMLEY

THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION, 1763-1783. By Eric Robson. London: Batchworth. 1955. ix + 254 pp. 18s.

THE AMERICAN REBELLION. SIR HENRY CLINTON'S NARRATIVE OF HIS CAMPAIGNS, 1775-1782. Edited by William B. Willcox. Yale University Press. London: Cumberlege. 1955. li + 658 pp. 60s.

Eric Robson was a young historian of great promise who died in 1954: of his thirty-six years six had been spent on war service, largely in Africa and Burma. It is the more remarkable that in that short time he had managed to become a Senior Lecturer in the University of Manchester with several publications to his credit. This book is posthumous, but it was clearly in an advanced state of preparation when he died and has been most carefully seen through the press by Sir Lewis Namier and Mr. T. H. McGuffie: I could detect only one misprint and three instances of avoidable repetition. It is, however, clear that, had the author lived, the balance of the book would have been different. As things are, the first four chapters contain an excellent and up-to-date summary of the latest work on the period 1763-75, but hardly any new material. These are followed by three really fresh and original chapters on the military aspects of the rebellion, based upon Mr. Robson's own researches and, one might add, his military experience. After this we are presented with two detailed studies of the position on the eve of French intervention (1777-8), and then with a very general conclusion on the results of the American Revolution. The whole book cannot fail to be of considerable interest to anyone studying the subject.

Professor William B. Willcox's able and exhaustive edition of Sir Henry Clinton's elaborate apologia, *The American Rebellion*, is in a completely different category. Never previously printed in full, it is a first-class historical source whose appearance will excite all the experts in this field. As it entirely consists of special pleading, carried to an inordinate length and in the greatest possible detail, it is dangerous matter for the uninitiated, though the continuously whining, wearying tone of self-exculpation, together with Professor Willcox's occasional, but always most judicious, notes, and brilliant introduction, should put even the simpler sort of reader on his guard. Yet Clinton was not really so incompetent as Robson, for example, thinks. It is true that his one great success, the capture of Charleston, should have been achieved by *coup de main* four years before, but some of his minor operations against strong points in the Hudson Highlands, together with his successful rearguard action at Monmouth Court House during the retreat from Philadelphia, are not devoid of military merit. Again, Clinton was usually sound enough on the general strategy of the war and capable of brilliant tactical manoeuvre: his difficulty was to translate his insight into action. This was not altogether his fault, for he was always being robbed of troops and starved of reinforcements, but the fact remains that he was one of those people who are continuously, and often quite rightly, critical of their commanders when they are second-in-command, yet are unwilling to accept responsibility themselves when it is offered to them and are correspondingly timid in the exercise of power. On the other hand, Clinton, unlike many soldiers, could appreciate naval genius when he met it, and if the incompetent old Admiral Arbuthnot was 'false as hell', Rodney and Lord Howe commanded his respect and liking. The fatal thing was that his originally friendly relations with Cornwallis so rapidly deteriorated from May 1780, when he observed that 'he will

play me false'—and proceeded to give him every opportunity of doing so. Indeed, as Professor Willcox says, 'attempting to concert operations simultaneously with Cornwallis and Arbuthnot was like trying to guide a wild horse while carrying the Old Man of the Sea'; and unfortunately no sooner had Arbuthnot been recalled than command of American waters was temporarily lost to the unexpectedly powerful battle-fleet of de Grasse. Clinton never ceased to harp, quite correctly, on the double need for naval superiority and genuine inter-service co-operation, but although the 'American minister', Lord Germain, was personally well-disposed towards him and incredibly long-suffering over his perpetual complaints and attempted resignations, Clinton never got what he considered a fair deal. So much may be said in his defence, but his timidity and utter failure to control Cornwallis, coupled with his naïve attempts to repudiate responsibility for any of his lordship's actions, were really just as damning as the capitulation at Yorktown to his country's cause. In spite of all Clinton's wriggings and evasions, dispassionate readers will agree that no British army commander of comparable ability has ever done more to defeat himself, or has complained more unreasonably about the inevitable result.

University College, Cardiff

ANTHONY STEEL

THE GREAT EXPERIMENT. By Frank Thistlethwaite. Cambridge University Press. 1955. 335 pp. 25s.

Mr. Thistlethwaite has not set out to produce a textbook but simply an introduction to his subject addressed primarily to the British undergraduate. His main task has been to dispel many of the illusions about the United States which arise from thinking about America in terms of European society. He has refused to be constricted by the traditional chronological divisions of chapters and subjects and instead has taken longer sweeps in time, preserving thereby a greater sense of unity; for instance, chapters on 'The Atlantic Outlook, 1790-1850', 'The Conquest of a Greater West, 1845-1907', and 'From Wildcatting to Monopoly, 1850-1914' give some indication of the plan adopted. The unifying theme of the whole is the Atlantic migration and its constant pressure upon the American continent until comparatively recent times. Mr. Thistlethwaite has the ability to write really well and the occasional light touch makes the volume a pleasure to read. We may regret the absence of a select bibliography all the more because this is a first-rate work which should stimulate students and others to read further on the subject.

University College, Aberystwyth

ALAN CONWAY

THE FIRST RAPPROCHEMENT. By Bradford Perkins. Pennsylvania University Press. London: Cumberlege. 1956. 257 pp. 40s.

This is an admirable book. Such praise is all the stronger because it is based upon a Ph.D. thesis, and even good theses are notoriously apt to make bad books. Yet it is not only a good monograph but a model of what a satisfactory Ph.D. thesis should be. It takes an important and coherent subject—a neglected and misinterpreted period in the history of Anglo-American relations—and deals with it in a very competent and perceptive manner.

Technically it shows a mastery of the normal apparatus of scholarship which is thoroughly and (not quite so common a thing) thoughtfully applied,

as, for example, in the unusual but excellent annotation system. In literary style there is, despite vigour and liveliness, some lack of grace and elegance, but it is still a better-than-average specimen of American historical writing today. In substance too, Dr. Perkins has written diplomatic history of a high order—as befits one born, so to say, to the purple. It is based on scrupulous, meticulous and exhaustive research among the primary sources, but its interpretation of them is imaginative and it never loses sight of the broad background of the subject. The book has, in the best sense of the term, a thesis, and a highly significant one; it calls attention to an early decade of Anglo-American relations, which has often passed unnoticed but which is of great importance, the first rapprochement, between 1794 and 1805. It was the earliest period of deliberately cultivated friendship, for which great credit is due, among others, to Washington and Adams and to Pitt and Grenville. As a result of the publication of this work American diplomatic historians will have to recast their conventional interpretation of the history of these years; having for some time believed this reinterpretation to be necessary, I find it comforting to see it demonstrated beyond all doubt by Dr. Perkins.

One wonders indeed whether such a reassessment of the Federalists is not overdue in other aspects of national life than the purely diplomatic. Recent changes in the position of the United States in the international sphere have resulted in new perspectives in the history of American foreign policy, and it seems not unlikely that analogous changes in other aspects of national life may produce similar alterations in the views of historians. Thus those who yearn today for an American conservatism may find food for thought in the policies and ideas of the Federalists; but any reappraisal of them is likely to be achieved at the expense of the Jeffersonians (whose press from American historians has been as good as that of the Federalists has been bad), and the spirit of Jefferson is still a power in the land.

But the heart of Dr. Perkins seems likely to be in diplomatic history, at least for the present, and it is very much to be hoped that he will continue his study to the end, or at least the beginning, of the War of 1812. The rapid deterioration in relations which began in 1805 and which ended in war is better known in the history books than the years of which he writes here, but much of it will need to be explained afresh in view of his conclusive establishment of the reality and significance of the Anglo-American rapprochement in the preceding decade. Hitherto, because the amity of these years has been glossed over, the slide into war has tended to be regarded as a kind of inevitable aftermath of the American Revolution, or at least as a contingency forced upon the two countries by the inexorable pressures produced by the Anglo-French wars. For the latter view there may still be much to be said, but for the former there cannot be: the ten years of goodwill clearly disprove it. It is hard to see how Canning and Jefferson, for instance, can in the future avoid a large measure of personal blame for the decline of good relations.

But whether or not this proves to be the judgement of Dr. Perkins on the years to come, this work leaves us in no doubt that individual wisdom and active statesmanship were vital factors in the betterment of Anglo-American relations between 1794 and 1805. This is always a salutary reminder to a generation of historians bred to a belief in the inexorable forces of History. Just as salutary, and more immediate, is the reminder afforded by the deterioration of the next years, to all who are concerned with the future of

Anglo-American relations, that the storm can so rapidly follow the calm. It is a reminder of the price which we must pay in forethought and care for cordial Anglo-American relations.

University College, London

H. C. ALLEN

IN A BRIEF HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES (London: English Universities Press, 1956. 186 pp. 6s.), Franklin Escher junr. makes a racy and vigorous but rather slight attempt to present the elements of American history to general readers.

In his urbane and knowledgeable inaugural lecture as Commonwealth Fund Professor of American History in the University of London, AMERICAN HISTORY IN BRITAIN (London: H. K. Lewis, 1956. 32 pp. 2s. 6d.), Professor H. C. Allen surveys the extent to which his subject is taught in British universities and schools, and suggests that its remarkable post-war development is likely to continue. He takes his stand on the utilitarian ground that the United States is now so powerful an entity that knowledge of its past is essential to our education, rather than on the ground of the unique intellectual problems posed by the subject.

F. T.

TWENTIETH CENTURY

BRITISH GOVERNMENT 1914-53: SELECT DOCUMENTS. By G. Le May. London: Methuen. 1955. xvi + 406 pp. 25s.

Professor Le May has compiled a very useful selection of documents, for which workers and teachers in this field will be grateful. Taking it together with Costin and Watson's *Law and Working of the Constitution*, we now have available a convenient range of constitutional documents for the whole of the last three centuries. But Professor Le May has cast his net more widely; wishing to illustrate the search for efficiency as well as the struggle for liberty, he has included a substantial section on the working of the civil service. There is much descriptive material in his book; for as he remarks, the theory of British government is always out of step with its current operation. The editor devotes over a third of his space to the text of statutes; in this comprehensive selection the one regrettable omission is the Incitement to Disaffection Act, 1934. Parliament (including control over expenditure, over the nationalized industries, and delegated legislation) and the executive are given 80 pages each; there are 40 pages of well-chosen legal judgements, and a final section of 55 pages on the parties and the electorate. The latter is especially welcome.

Professor Le May has followed Costin and Watson in omitting the conventional introduction and notes, but he has not thought it necessary to emulate their admirable and thorough cross-references; his arrangement (by topics instead of sources) may explain this decision. His choice both of subjects and of illustrative material is sound, though inevitably one notices omissions. The desire to deal thoroughly with administrative developments has perhaps led him to pay less attention to the conventions of the constitution than is usual in such works. The two short extracts on the right of dissolution illustrate Professor Le May's gap between theory and practice rather than the contemporary state of affairs. The Lloyd George war cabinet structure is discussed, but not the Churchillian abandonment of it. While

delegated legislation is fully treated, the working of administrative tribunals, as distinct from the courts' control over them, is not shown. Within this space, however, no selection could be exempt from criticisms of this kind. Professor Le May deserves congratulations and thanks for a most useful piece of work.
Jesus College, Oxford

P. M. WILLIAMS

BRITAIN BETWEEN THE WARS, 1918-1940. By C. L. Mowat. London: Methuen. 1955. ix + 694 pp. 30s.

A full and reliable history of inter-war Britain has been badly needed. Professor Mowat's invaluable book at last fills this exasperating gap. He provides a detailed narrative of politics at home and abroad, a brief economic history replete with statistics and tables, and a hundred pages surveying the social and intellectual scene and the various aspects of the 'condition of Britain' in each decade. His bibliographical range is immense and by itself would constitute a most useful contribution.

Professor Mowat deals in most detail with the immediate post-war years, especially the handling by the Lloyd George coalition of the labour and Irish problems. The middle chapter of the book (entitled 'Dead Centre') is concerned with the general strike. From a mainly domestic emphasis in the early years he naturally turns to concentrate on foreign policy towards the end, but he never loses sight of the general picture. The balance is carefully held between the parties, with perhaps a slight leftward tilt: the author is more indulgent in domestic affairs, towards Labour in the 'twenties and the National government in the 'thirties, than towards pacifists on the Left or appeasers on the Right. There are some striking phrases (e.g. Neville Chamberlain's 'tunnel vision'), and many illuminating observations, as that in the 1924 cabinet neither of the leading social reformers, Churchill and Chamberlain, was a traditional Tory and both belonged to the most anti-Labour wing of the administration. Professor Mowat repeatedly emphasizes the consequences of the defeat of the Coalition and the unshakable grip on power then acquired by the 'second-class brains', their constant preoccupation with keeping out Churchill and Lloyd George, and the subsequent reappearance of many old coalitionists among the critics of the 'thirties.

There are inevitably a few slips—Neville Chamberlain was dismissed in 1917, not 1916—and omissions. The author mentions neither Labour's opposition to the 1935 India Act which he favours, nor its support of the Irish ports cession of 1938 which he attacks, nor the approval of many Liberals and Socialists for Munich. His account does not make clear the complicated relations of Communists and I.L.P., varying in the 'thirties from penetration through co-operation to bitter hostility. Though he draws attention to the outburst of official optimism five days before the occupation of Prague, he offers no explanation for it. Criticisms of this kind, however, are trivial in face of this monument of industry and patience. Yet *Britain between the Wars* cannot be dismissed as a huge storehouse of facts, invaluable for the analytical historian of the future but unfortunately unreadable in the present. Professor Mowat writes clearly and cogently, and his careful presentation of the facts by no means precludes shrewd judgement or penetrating analysis. For all who teach or study or simply interest themselves in twentieth-century British history, his book will be indispensable.

Jesus College, Oxford

P. M. WILLIAMS

The thirteenth volume in the studies of the Harvard Russian Research Center, *THE FORMATION OF THE SOVIET UNION* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1954. London: Cumberlege. 1955. xii + 355 pp. 52s.) has the same solid documentation and is written with the same scholarly objectivity as its predecessors. Its only defect is that it is by no means easy to read. The reason is partly to be found in the fact that Mr. Pipes has attempted to compress a very large subject into too small a frame; or perhaps one should say, two very large subjects. One of these is the history of the events in the Russian borderlands between the outbreak of the Russian Revolution and the establishment of the quasi-federalism of the first Constitution of the Soviet Union. This narrative leaves out in a rather arbitrary fashion those areas that managed to establish their independence—the Baltic States, Finland and Russian Poland—but even so there is little to link together the separate stories of the Ukraine, White Russia, the Caucasus, and of the Moslem peoples of the Volga-Ural region, of the Crimea, and of Central Asia. As a result, the narrative and analysis in each case has a rather breathless quality, so that the immensity of the human suffering caused and the intensity of the passions aroused may tend to be overlooked. And this is the more regrettable because the story did not end with 1923; the German occupation in the Second World War of much of the area more briefly held in 1918 lifted the curtain again and revealed the problems still unsolved.

Mr. Pipes' second subject, revealed by his own sub-title—'Communism and Nationalism 1917-1923', is the impact of Communist doctrine upon these events, and of the events upon the doctrine. His first two chapters thus deal not only with the position of the 'nationalities' in Tsarist Russia, but also with the arguments of Russian Marxists over the relation of the problem they presented to the proletarian revolution. At the end of the book we are left with Lenin seeing from the protests of Georgian Communists at their treatment that something has gone wrong, but able only to look for bourgeois scapegoats, being too blinded by dogma to see that the phenomenon of nationality could not be encompassed wholly by the vocabulary of class. The story in between is how the Bolsheviks had come to be identified with the maintenance of Great Russian domination in its most savage aspect—especially in the areas of colonization—and how on the other hand, the tactical flexibility of the Bolshevik leaders had allowed them at various crises of the Civil War to appeal to the nationalities against the overt chauvinism of the Russian 'Whites'.

Mr. Pipes notes the extent to which the Soviet leaders were aware of the international implications of their treatment of their own minorities; but he has not studied this in detail. It is odd to find two references to the attempt by the Ukrainian Communists to get separate representation in the Third International almost a year before that body was founded, and to find Mustafa Subkhi (also known as Suphi or Subhi) described as a 'member of the Third International'; what is apparently referred to is that he attended the first Congress as a non-voting participant along with other members of the Central Bureau of the Communist Organizations of the Peoples of the East.

Nuffield College, Oxford

M. BELOFF

THE GERMAN FIFTH COLUMN IN THE SECOND WORLD WAR. By Louis de Jong. Revised edition, translated from the Dutch by C. M. Geyl. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul. 1956. xi + 308 pp. 28s.

Some of the documents presented in evidence at the Nuremberg trial (supplemented by the voluminous material subsequently collected by parliamentary commissions of enquiry in Denmark, Norway, the Netherlands and France) inevitably made one wonder whether the popular idea of a German 'Fifth Column' as it emerged early in the Second World War would stand up to serious historical analysis. How, for instance, could the deadly rivalry now known to have existed between the military and political bodies most immediately concerned (e.g. the *Amt-Ausland-Abwehr* of the Wehrmacht Supreme Command and the *Sicherheitsdienst* and *Volksdeutsche Mittelstelle* of Himmler) be reconciled with the machine-like precision with which the Fifth Column was supposed to have gone into action in country after country? How could Hitler, in circumstances where complete reliability was the *sine qua non* of military, if not of political, usefulness, have depended upon German minorities if, like the *Volksdeutsche* of Russia, they had (in the words of the German security police) a 'completely erroneous idea of relationships in the Reich' and did not 'even know the name of the Führer'? And how could he, at the crucial juncture of the first German attack, have received assistance from Quisling, Mussert and other native collaborators if he did not fully trust them and certainly did not make them privy to his military intentions?

In weighing the evidence for and against the existence of an effective German Fifth Column, Dr. Louis de Jong, the Director of the Netherlands State Institute for War Documentation, has produced the nearest thing possible, in the present state of our knowledge, to a definitive study. That he has not been able to reach a final verdict is due, as he rightly points out, to the incompleteness of the facts: 'Only part of the German archives have been found again, and thus far, only fragments have been published from them. There have not been sufficient reports and reliable preliminary studies in all countries to make it possible to draw final conclusions.' Nevertheless, it seems doubtful if the filling of the gaps will upset the main thesis of his work, which is that only in Poland and Yugoslavia, where National Socialism had gained a strong hold over the German minorities, is there evidence of systematic assistance having been rendered to the advancing German armies by *Volksdeutsche* or locally resident Reich Germans. Elsewhere the 'internal military Fifth Column' never 'amounted to very much'. This is not to deny that 'in several cases' Reich Germans living abroad and belonging to the Nazi Party's *Auslands-Organisation* (which, however, recruited but a small minority of these Germans) helped to prepare, or even supported German aggression in some way. Nor does it mean that, in some instances, disloyal native elements did not seek actively to further Hitler's cause, although even in such cases there seems to be no proof of systematic military collaboration with the Reich during the initial attack. 'One need but call Norway to mind, where neither Quisling nor the leader of the *Landesgruppe* of the *Auslands-Organisation* knew exactly what was going to happen.'

Dr. de Jong inspires confidence by the restraint and balance with which he writes, no less than by the painstaking care with which he assembles the facts, and it seems clear that quite a number of Second World War histories will now need some revision in the light of his findings.

C. J. CHILD

GENERAL

STUDIES IN SOCIAL HISTORY. Edited by J. H. Plumb. London: Longmans. 1955. xv + 287 pp. 21s.

These eight essays have been brought together by Dr. Plumb as a tribute to G. M. Trevelyan who, in the words of the dedication, 'for more than fifty years has maintained the tradition that history is literature'. However far and in whatever different directions we have moved from this standpoint, there are none who would not join in gratitude for his most generous encouragement of successive newcomers to the craft, and many who still need to learn from him how to make history accessible and enjoyable. Dr. Plumb has refused to make this the usual 'formless and unreadable' *Festschrift*. The contributions deal with English history from the sixteenth century to the twentieth, but all are social history in the sense that politics, if not 'left out', is at least not the chief concern. Together they give a very fair sample of the work now being done in a field in which, Dr. Plumb claims in his introduction, 'the greatest discoveries will be made in this generation'.

The essay that perhaps comes nearest to the popular idea of social history is that by Wallace Notestein—the only contributor who is Trevelyan's contemporary—on 'The English Woman, 1580 to 1650', an analysis of the disabilities which man-made society imposed on women. The materials for a study of these 'shadowy figures' include, he suggests, not only diaries and letters and literature but 'even local documents' such as inventories, sessions orders, and accounts. No one is better acquainted with seventeenth-century records than Professor Notestein; but when it comes to the point we find him citing chiefly literary sources. From these, as C. V. Wedgwood also shows in her perceptive essay on *Comedy in the Reign of Charles I*, much can be squeezed. The drawback is that the further down the social scale they go the more they distort. For the wives of artisans and labourers we have, Professor Notestein admits, 'almost no evidence upon which to form judgements'. This of course is the social historian's great difficulty: what he knows about in most detail is usually least typical. The tendency now is to say less about the common man and the everyday thing, and to give up the attempt to construct huge pictures out of small ill-fitting fragments. Instead we have the sharply-focussed study of a narrower subject. A. L. Rowse writing about Nicholas Roscarrock, a Cornish Elizabethan recusant, shows how an examination of local customs and of men who recorded them can avoid the sins of the folksy antiquarian. Dr. Plumb himself contributes a by-product of his work on Walpole which illustrates the effect of sudden wealth on the life of an ordinary manorial family. H. J. Habakkuk's essay on Daniel Finch, second Earl of Nottingham, is a masterly example of one of the most rewarding current lines of research—the use of the papers of a great estate to reveal the economics and the way of life of landed society. W. G. Hoskins comes down successfully to the artisan level in a study of Elizabethan Leicester. Like Professor Habakkuk he manages to be statistical while remaining readable. The last two essays deal in very different ways with intellectual life. G. S. R. Kitson Clark in *The Romantic Element, 1830 to 1850* examines what Englishmen read in a period when many of them did. Noel Annan plays a new version of the popular game of finding cousins and in-laws, with scholars and writers instead of politicians as the victims. He confirms the impression given by

countless autobiographies that the 'intellectual aristocracy' intermarries as assiduously as the peerage, and that even in the days of open scholarships careful choice of parents is a useful first step to fame.

University of Manchester

D. H. PENNINGTON

ESSAYS PRESENTED TO SIR LEWIS NAMIER. Edited by Richard Pares and

A. J. P. Taylor. London: Macmillan. 1956. viii + 542 pp. 36s.

The seminal influence of Sir Lewis Namier upon British historical scholarship is well reflected in this collection of essays written by former colleagues and pupils in his honour. By his pioneer work on British politics at the accession of George III, by his analysis of the revolutionary movements of mid-nineteenth century Europe, and by his studies and commentaries on interwar diplomacy and politics, he has set new standards for the interpretation and understanding of political systems and political events through scrupulously detailed study of the characters and mentality of the men who shape them. His example has inspired many good things in this book. The sixteen essays range over a wide field of parliamentary history, eighteenth-century political and business history, and questions of war, diplomacy and revolution in Europe and the relations between Russia and Europe in the period since 1815. Space permits further mention only of a few. Mr. Trevor Roper argues, in a brilliantly suggestive paper, that Cromwell's failure to work with his parliamentarians arose from his back-bencher's conception of how parliament should function—from his instinctive aversion to the creation of a ministerial caucus such as was absolutely essential to steer their labours. Miss L. S. Sutherland illustrates the thesis that the rôle of the City of London in eighteenth-century politics was inspired by a 'sense of separatism, of standing outside the dominant social and political system of the time'. The story of the Chiltern Hundreds is shown in a penetrating survey by Miss Betty Kemp to be not merely a matter of dry-as-dust parliamentary procedure but intimately connected with the general views about the working of the parliamentary system current at different times in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. And Professor Gash suggests that there are probably good reasons for abandoning the theory, popularized by Halévy, that the July Revolution in France in 1830 contributed to the passage of the English Reform Act two years later. These are some of the stimulating themes presented in this collection of essays.

University College, London

I. R. CHRISTIE

In *History* (June 1952) the demand for a translation of Ingvar Andersson's broad and brilliant survey of Swedish History was first raised by the present reviewer; it is therefore with much pleasure that I welcome the English edition of *A HISTORY OF SWEDEN* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson. 1956. 461 pp. 36s. Translated by Carolyn Hannay). Though abbreviated and lacking something of the flavour of the original, it deserves a place on the shelves of all school and college libraries and should also appeal to the general reader. This history of Sweden by one of the most distinguished of Swedish historians is a stimulating introduction to studies on a more specialized level; the book is a masterpiece of synthesis which yet allows the original conception of Dr. Andersson, of Sweden not as a fixed and finished structure but as a living organism, to permeate its pages. In one respect the

English edition is superior to all previous ones: the illustrations are wonderfully well chosen and superbly reproduced.

London School of Economics

RAGNHILD HATTON

THE DECISIVE BATTLES OF THE WESTERN WORLD, vol. ii. By Major-General J. F. C. Fuller. London: Eyre and Spottiswoode. 1955. x + 561 pp. 35s.

The second volume of Major-General Fuller's book covers the period from the defeat of the Armada to the Battle of Waterloo. The arrangement of the book is, as in the first volume, a series of general historical chapters each leading up to a chapter devoted to one or more 'decisive battles'. The maps and diagrams, as before, are plentiful and helpful, and General Fuller maintains his standard of vivid and detailed description of great battles on land and at sea. Moreover, the brief sections—for example, those on the Armada, Blenheim and Trafalgar—which describe the interaction between developments in weapons and tactics would be difficult to improve upon; indeed, they could well be longer at the expense of some other parts of the book. The weakness of this volume, as of its predecessor, lies in the chapters on general history. In so far as General Fuller sets out to show that the story of campaigns and battles is an integral part of general history this is a laudable attempt to fill an obvious gap. The trouble is that he attempts too much, with the result that while his battle chapters are well done the connecting chapters are not good enough for the purpose.

There are, briefly, two faults, one of emphasis and one of subject matter. The episodic treatment suggests that all decisive battles are equally decisive and for the same reasons. Clearly this is not true. The defeat of the Armada and the Battle of Valmy had great political significance. Jena and Auerstadt, on the other hand, were strategically and tactically decisive but, as the author admits, 'politically, Napoleon failed to attain his aim'. Secondly, in his attempt to cover so much ground General Fuller frequently falls into the trap of misleading generalization and sometimes of simple inaccuracy. James I was not a pacifist mainly because he was short of money. Whatever his faults of character the first Stuart had some ideals which were well ahead of his generation. The Reformation, as a movement common to many countries, was not based mainly on the doctrine of predestination. Nor was the Hundred Years War the starting point of the commutation of military service; a good deal of the medieval history of this country would be difficult to understand if that were true. General Fuller's account of these matters is simple to the point of distortion. Again, the result of Blenheim was not the 'disgrace and ridicule of the French armies'. Marlborough, for all his genius, did not overwhelm the French in his later campaigns, and France, because of her own efforts as well as the mistakes of her enemies, ended the war in a far better position than earlier she had reason to expect. Finally, Naples and Milan did not remain Austrian until 1866.

This is a good book for those who, brought up in the tradition of most of our schools and universities, have learned of the causes and consequences of wars but not of the wars themselves. It is not a reliable guide for any broader study.

All Souls College, Oxford

N. GIBBS

QUESTIONS IN THE HOUSE: THE HISTORY OF A UNIQUE BRITISH INSTITUTION.

By Patrick Howarth. London: The Bodley Head. 1956. 220 pp. 18s. The most remarkable thing about this book is that it has not been written before. 'Question Time', today, is the one period of a sitting for which the galleries of the House of Commons are invariably full, while the perusal of it in *Hansard* is never dull and usually surprising. Although the practice of putting questions to Ministers and other responsible persons has had a long and gradual growth from its origins in the eighteenth century to the enormous proportions it has reached in the House of Commons today, the number of questions asked annually in that House had, according to Josef Redlich, already risen to 1546 by 1880, the year before that at which Mr. Howarth ends his survey. How much interesting material may the social historian therefore expect to find scattered over the question times of the past.

It is this field that Mr. Howarth has explored, and invites his readers to visit. In two hundred agreeably written pages he takes us on a conducted tour of the 'question country' of the last two centuries. At a number of selected spots he stops and draws our attention to the view, which may vary from an enormous prospect, such as the affairs of India, down to a narrow interior, of a country court-room perhaps. The traveller is never left too long looking at any one thing, and at the end of the journey feels he has acquired a great deal of miscellaneous knowledge with little exertion. It may then perhaps seem churlish to point out that that is not what the notice on the bus led him to expect. For the sub-title of Mr. Howarth's book is 'the History of a unique British Institution'. Whatever his original intentions, however, Mr. Howarth has been so far seduced by the entertainment value of the matters raised by questions in Parliament that he has said very little about any other aspect of the subject. His examples obliterate what they are intended to illumine. He seeks, for example, to establish 'the readiness of . . . Governments in the eighteen-sixties to introduce social reforms when attention was called to the need for them by questions . . .', by reference to three questions and a debate on a motion in 1866 and 1867. The subject of these (an alleged wrongful conviction for rape) is described over more than two pages, but the only conclusion reached in support of the original assertion is that the Court of Criminal Appeal was set up thirty-five years later. Of the hard facts concerning the development of question time as an institution Mr. Howarth gives no more than can be found on one page of Sir Ivor Jennings' *Parliament*.

This is a pity, because, as Mr. Howarth himself says in his preface, the institution 'remains virtually unanalysed, and its history almost unrecorded'. It may be that much of this history is lost beyond recall. The Journals of the House of Commons, since they record only what is done, and not what is said, make no mention of 'questions' even to this day, while *Hansard* can often be misleading on matters of procedure. What is needed is a great deal of sifting and recording of the many minor facts of parliamentary practice and habit upon which the institution has grown up. Perhaps Nuffield College, in their current researches, are seeking to meet this need. Mr. Howarth's book does not meet it, but it does emphasize it, by reminding us both of the age and of the strength of what he rightly considers a unique institution.

D. W. S. LIDDERDALE

THE OFFICE OF PRIME MINISTER, by Byrum E. Carter (London: Faber, 1956. 362 pp. 30s.), is a brave, modest, but unsuccessful attempt by an American political scientist to write a comprehensive textbook on the rôle of the Prime Minister since 1900. Professor Carter knows the most important secondary sources well and uses them carefully. The weakness of his book is that he is not comfortably at home in British politics, and accurate use of his sources does not save him from slips which shake the British reader's confidence in his judgement. Perhaps it was a mistake to attempt such a task at all. His subject allows (and indeed compels) Professor Carter to ramble over the whole field of British politics, Cabinet, Parliament and parties, and it gives no adequate criterion of relevance by which to shape the discussion. As one reads one realizes that even now the Prime Minister is primarily a man and not an institution.

University of Manchester

W. J. M. MACKENZIE

NATION, SPRACHE UND NATIONALISMUS. By H. L. Koppelman. Leiden: A. W. Sijthoff. 1956. 233 pp.

Mr. Koppelman's study of nationalism demonstrates the great gulf between continental and Anglo-Saxon scholarship. The author, apparently a Netherlander, became acquainted with Carlton Hayes' *Essays on Nationalism* only after having partly completed his essay. He does not mention Professor Hayes' *The Historical Development of Modern Nationalism*, the symposium on nationalism by the Royal Institute of International Affairs or other important English and American studies. Thus he represents a purely European view, strongly influenced by the Nazi experience.

Naturally, perhaps, Mr. Koppelman's dismay at the excesses of nationalism strongly colours his analysis so that at times he appears to be ramming open doors and exaggerating his rationalist critique. According to the author, nationalism has largely originated in suggestive slogans in which the key-concepts are vague and ill-defined. It is not a 'genuine, strong and natural' sentiment; it has created a host of new problems without having succeeded in solving any old ones; it does not require replacement by anything else but apparently might disappear or at least lose its virulence under the impact of rational analysis. Neither this thesis nor the analysis of the origins of nationalism are really convincing, but Mr. Koppelman includes some interesting and little known illustrative material from European history, especially relating to the Low Countries.

King's College, Aberdeen

J. FRANKEL

The twenty-sixth volume of THE SURVEY OF LONDON—THE PARISH OF ST. MARY LAMBETH, PART II: THE SOUTHERN AREA (London: The Athlone Press for the London County Council. 1956. xiv + 226 pp. 40s.) completes the study of this parish begun in volume XXIII. It stretched for six miles, from the Surrey bank of the Thames to the wooded ridge carrying the Streatham-Sydenham road, its inhabitants in the century 1801-1901 increasing tenfold (27,985-301,895). Before 1801 the sparsely populated southern half was chiefly marsh or woodland with some ribbon development along the old causeways and the new roads to the new bridges at Westminster and Blackfriars. The chief landowners were the Duchy of Cornwall, the Archbishop of Canterbury, its dean and chapter, and Lord Chancellor

Thurlow. The building of Vauxhall bridge, a series of Acts permitting leasehold development, penetration by suburban railways (1850-75), trams (1870-) and the electric tube (1890), led first to terrace houses along the main roads, villas built on the high ground for rich city tradesmen, and spasmodic speculative building ventures. Estate development was slow until the railways brought mass speculative building for the lower middle class and for workmen attracted by cheap fares. Though the manors, especially the Duchy, were important in controlling the change into suburbanization, its progress was piecemeal—the largely haphazard work of many private and institutional builders. The contribution made by the Minet family in the Paulet road area and by the company which laid out the parts round Milkwood road stand out amid a sea of undistinguished streets, served by undistinguished churches and very ordinary schools. Today rebuilding is in progress. The rich villas have nearly all gone, as have the relics of earlier days—the moated Stockwell Manor and the gardens of Tradescant and Ashmole. Flats are everywhere and London and Croydon are joined.

Faced with this sea of building, the editor has amended the plan for earlier volumes. Clear, invaluable records of ownership up to *circa* 1801 are followed by summaries of development in each manor or estate. Churches, schools and the few public buildings are described in detail, whilst sketch maps show the importance of roads and railways. House-by-house lists of residents and lists of incumbents no longer appear, making the footnote 'information supplied by the vicar' more irritating than helpful. The documentation, if it omits the dates of parliamentary papers, is otherwise admirable. A new editor (Dr. F. H. W. Sheppard) and a new publisher have much improved presentation and format. The wealth of archives available and the labour required in producing what is rather more than an essential book of reference are obvious.

University College, London

T. F. REDDAWAY

The Terry Lectures delivered at Yale University by Professor P. Geyl have been published under the title *USE AND ABUSE OF HISTORY* (Yale University Press. London: Cumberlege. 1955. 97 pp. 20s.). The notes—for example, 'F. M. Arouet, 1694-1778, as a young man, assumed the name of Voltaire. The *Essai sur les mœurs*, a large work, appeared in 1756'—suggest that they are not directed to an historically very sophisticated audience, which may account for their rather slight nature. Professor Geyl's views are better sought in his other writings.

A second volume has been added to Marc Bloch's *CARACTÈRES ORIGINAUX DE L'HISTOIRE RURALE FRANÇAISE* by R. Dauvergne (Paris: Armand Colin. 1956. xlv + 230 pp.). Although his book, published in 1931, has become almost a classic, it was regarded by Marc Bloch himself as a 'provisional synthesis', a collection of hypotheses or suggestions for future research. He continued to develop and modify his views up to the time when he was arrested and shot by the Germans in 1944. M. Dauvergne has selected and summarized much of this material. It is no exaggeration to say that the second volume is an essential supplement to the first, and that both are indispensable for the study of any period of French agrarian history.

S. W. Baron's monumental *SOCIAL AND RELIGIOUS HISTORY OF THE JEWS* has now appeared in a French translation under the title *HISTOIRE D'ISRAËL*:

VIE SOCIALE ET RELIGIEUSE (Paris: Presses Universitaires. 1956. 2 vols.), based on the second English edition, considerably enlarged and revised by the author.

To write a history of all the Scandinavian countries, taking in also Finland, Iceland and Greenland, in the space available in the *Que sais-je?* series is a formidable task, but Pierre Jeannin in his HISTOIRE DES PAYS SCANDINAVES (Paris: Presses Universitaires. 1956. 238 pp.) has done so with considerable success.

Professor O. Halecki's well-known HISTORY OF POLAND, reviewed in *History*, xxviii. 118-19, has been published in a second edition (London: Dent. 1956. xiv + 359 pp. 21s.) which continues the story to the present day.

A SHORT HISTORY OF THE ITALIAN PEOPLE by the late Janet Trevelyan, C.H., is now available in a welcome new edition, revised and with an epilogue by D. Mack Smith. (London: Allen and Unwin. 1956. 425 pp. 32s.)

JOHN PHILPOT'S ROLL OF THE CONSTABLES OF DOVER CASTLE AND LORD WARDENS OF THE CINQUE PORTS, 1627, with a Foreword by Sir Winston Churchill, introduction and notes by F. W. Steer (London: G. Bell and Sons. 1956. 31 pp. 21s.), contains notes on the seventy-five Lord Wardens to the time of George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, for whom the roll was prepared, and reproductions of their arms.

Stow's SURVEY OF LONDON, with an introduction by H. B. Wheatley (Everyman's Library, no. 589. London: Dent. 1956. xxiv + 533 pp. 7s.), is a thoroughly useful reprint with minor improvements and a topographical index.

Excellent produced and illustrated, Elizabeth and Wayland Young's OLD LONDON CHURCHES (London: Faber. 1956. 332 pp. 63s.) sets out to describe all the churches in the city and county of London built before 1830 and either still standing or succeeded by another church on the same site. Chapels and synagogues are included, and so are 'certain others which no longer exist but which we find interesting'—an interest sufficiently elastic to include one on which their complete comment reads (p. 122) 'was destroyed about 1300'. Predominantly architectural, owing much to Stow, Summerson and Pevsner, if not to Harben, sometimes anecdotal, imaginative or journalistic, it will please those for whom it is intended. Others shrewd enough to solve the mysteries of its arrangement may gain unexpected profit.

T. F. R.

Under the auspices of the International Committee of Historical Sciences have been published in EXCERPTA HISTORICA NORDICA, Vol. I (Copenhagen: Rosenkilde and Bagger. 1956) summaries, mostly in English but a few in German or French, of 63 historical works written in Danish, Finnish, Norwegian or Swedish between 1950 and 1953. Other Scandinavian historical works written in English, French or German, or containing *résumés* in these languages, are listed. The subjects are mostly on Scandinavian history. The many historians who do not read the Scandinavian languages will welcome this new venture, the utility of which would be greatly increased by a table of short titles of the works summarized, classified by period rather than country of origin.

HISTORY BOOKS FOR SCHOOLS: I

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IS BRITAIN PECULIAR in having so large a range of textbook and auxiliary material for history teaching? Every year brings extensive additions, so that it might be thought that all tastes, let alone all ages and 'streams', had by now been adequately accommodated. Yet it is not so. Those responsible for choosing school books are often found seeking, but not finding, and the flood of new publications must indicate demand. Since the foreign textbook exhibition at the Historical Association annual general meeting of 1952, some comparison with the range of books available elsewhere has been possible, and one can see that there are some advantages in systematically planned courses as against the haphazard productions to which this country is accustomed. France, for instance, appeared from the limited selection available to be particularly well provided for.

A glance over the present titles for review shows—and it is surely characteristic—a wealth of auxiliary material as against the regular all-purpose textbook. The Oman, Tout, Hassall, Warner and Marten of old are perhaps not exactly what is now required: it is questionable however whether they have been adequately replaced, even if the E. H. Carter and R. A. F. Mears *History of Great Britain* and some others carry on a great tradition in providing for practical classroom work over a wide range. Amongst current publications for review Dr. C. F. Strong's ¹ treatment of world history from the Declaration of American Independence to the end of the nineteenth century—the penultimate volume of a series of five—is designed for 'grammar-school use or those taking academic courses in other kinds of secondary schools'. It must therefore be considered in relation to the demands of the 'O' level examination, but the author makes no reference to this in his preface. The matter is important as there are few good junior grammar school books on nineteenth-century European history and the period is a popular one. Dr. Strong naturally looks at world history from a European standpoint, but even so the field is too vast for any adequate presentation of detail such as he is attempting. There is no room for manoeuvre in explaining and clarifying, as can be seen if the admirably clear treatment of the American rebellion be compared with the far less successful account of the French Revolution immediately after, or the later chapter on the kingdom of Italy. A balance does not seem to have been struck between the broad issues selected as important and the detail chosen to explain them. Again, it is disturbing to meet from so experienced a textbook writer a phrase like 'while Russia who

¹ *The Later Modern World: Book IV of A History of Britain and the World.* By C. F. Strong. University of London Press. 1956. 320 pp., with maps, charts and illustrations. 8s. 6d.

hated the Turks anyway . . .', or to read an account of Greeks suffering 'under the yoke of the Turks' followed, without any explanation, by a description of the great period of the Phanariots when Greeks practically ran the commerce and much of the administration of the Turkish Empire. The illustrations are a well-chosen combination of pictures well known to older readers with less familiar ones, and repay study in relation to the text. Each of three parts in the book is followed by four appendices: 'A' is a summary chapter by chapter, which seems quite unnecessary for chapters of ten pages length helped by crossheadings, but there is a useful time-chart as well: 'B', entitled 'Points for Further Study', is excellent in showing where care must be taken in defining phrases (and *not* actually doing it for the pupil) and in enlarging upon the text: 'C' has suggestions for exercises and includes well-selected poetry and fiction for consultation, and 'D' contains equally well-thought-out topics for discussion, including a most suggestive series of 'then and now' comparisons. All this, but for 'A', is most useful textbook material involving teaching at its best. It prompts another thought: is there any need to dress up textbooks as though they were 'straight' reading? They are not such, and every available aid and short cut should be used. Passages in contrasting type with words or dates emphasized where necessary typographically might have helped to clarify this text, just as the material in appendices B, C and D undoubtedly does.

This same idea, that some fundamental change in textbook writing is becoming necessary, occurred when reading Dr. Derry and T. L. Jarman's account ² of the industrial revolution. This is a fine book with much new material and could be read by anyone with profit and pleasure. But for school use parts of it cried out for the diagrammatic shorthand that Warner and Marten used so effectively. On p. 26 a very important statistical rigmarole is brought to an end by—'Thus the effect of the Industrial Revolution in these ninety years was to enable five people to live where two had lived before—and *on an average* to live twice as well.' It is the sum of it all and deserves underlining in thicker type as much as any total in mathematics. In this primarily social and economic history, political and military factors are only summarized. It seems much easier in political history to establish a firm framework with secure anchorages in comparatively simple facts and dates, though this may be the prejudice of an older generation brought up differently. The economic and social story is an intricate one, necessarily depending on closely argued sequences: it is a joy to follow able authors such as these but extremely difficult to repeat the process without them! To young people who have a clear framework to start with, this is a book of first-class importance and practical usefulness, especially for 'O' level candidates and above. There is an admirable book-list for each chapter, divided into 'Introductory', 'Authorities' and 'Contemporary writing'.

Sixth Form masters will find one of their often pressing needs catered for in the series of essays collected by A. F. Scott ³ under the sub-headings of 'Man and Society', 'Man and Science' and 'Man and the Arts'. The pieces are admirably chosen to promote thought and discussion on some of the enduring problems of modern society, and short notes provide just the factual help

² *The Making of Modern Britain: Life and Work from George III to Elizabeth II.* By T. K. Derry and T. L. Jarman. John Murray. 1956. 306 pp., with illustrations and time charts. 9s.

³ *Topics and Opinions.* Selected and edited by A. F. Scott. Macmillan. 1956. 308 pp. 6s.

needed so that readers can concentrate on ideas and argument. This is a book, handy, well produced and reasonably priced, that should prove of the utmost practical value both for individuals and for class work. Another book sent for review with the Sixth Form in mind is *Man in the Beginning*,⁴ a comprehensive account of prehistoric archæology and the development of racial types, in a supposedly popular form. Produced originally in America, Professor Howells' book is unlikely to oust the works of Professor Childe, Jacquetta Hawkes and others from popular favour over here. Flatulent description is not improved by facetiousness, and at times American idiom is a handicap. There is no bibliography, and references to books and authors in the text are inadequate. In brief there is too much to offset the good things that come through with clarity, like the criticism of Europeans destroying the integrity of other cultures by giving them things they cannot assimilate, or the sympathetic account of the Australian Blackfellows.

The most hardened adversary of the dramatic approach to history would do well to look at J. H. Bowles' ⁵ thirteen 'dramatic readings'. The aim has been to assist children to enter into some of the significant episodes of English history with sympathy and imagination. The readings are presented with short and pointed introductions, and maintain a quiet unpretentious efficiency. They should form a useful practical help in understanding historical episodes and in judging elementary moral questions. Several pieces, notably 'Cromwell and the Levellers', stick closely to original documents, and all can be read or acted and discussed within the limits of a single period. All classes up to and including those taking 'O' level, and some later than that, would find much to learn and talk about from these pieces. Two other 'dramatic history readers' designed for secondary schools are entitled *These Thousand Years*.⁶ John Kennett provides longer but less pointed introductions and ends with sensible suggestions as to reading (generally a novel), writing (an imaginative essay or comment on the incident), things to remember (basic facts and dates) and questions that will 'Test your Memory'. All this is to the good, but the twenty-three widely scattered episodes contained in the two volumes are, as might be expected, uneven in quality. A clear understanding of the period and some detailed research are generally both necessary to produce a significant short sketch such as is required for classroom use. A less ambitious and comprehensive attempt might have resulted in enhanced quality both in the sketches and the introductions. The unevenness of treatment may be seen by comparing the sympathetic account of Magellan with the far less satisfactory Armada sketch. More use of contemporary material in both the readings and the illustrations and more geographical assistance would both have been helpful to the teacher. Occasionally more care could have been taken: for instance the distinction should have been made between the willingness of Spanish colonists to trade with Hawkins, and the Spanish government's prohibition of it and disgust at their colonists' attitude. One of the questions asked at the end of the Magellan sketch is 'What disease was the dread of sailors in Magellan's time?' But

⁴ *Man in the Beginning*. By W. Howells. Bell. 1956. 384 pp., with sketchmaps and drawings. 18s. 6d.

⁵ *Dramatic Readings in History: England A.D. 597-1745*. By J. H. Bowles. University of London Press. 1956. 96 pp., limp cloth. 2s. 9d.

⁶ *These Thousand Years*. By John Kennett. Blackie. 1955. Book I (Hastings to Armada), 166 pp. Book II (Shakespeare to Present Day), 166 pp. 5s. each.

neither scurvy nor any other disease is mentioned. 'The discovery of new lands and sea-routes helped to bring the Middle Ages to an end', writes Mr. Kennett in a not very happy passage, for these hard and fast 'periods' are a menace to the sympathetic understanding of history. In Dr. Strong's *Later Modern World* there is an even worse example: 'With this event [Charlemagne's coronation] the Early Middle Period ends and we move definitely into the World of the Middle Ages . . . the Renaissance brought the Middle Ages to a close.' To be fair this is extracted from an introductory summary but it is a dangerous unreality to foster.

A new series of biographies ⁷ by Norman Wymer, each of 32 pages, provides useful auxiliary material for a wide range of readers, but it is difficult to see precisely the class use of these little volumes. They are well composed, with illustrations and maps, but restricted book allowances will not in many schools allow of such luxury purchases. Grouped together in a bound 'Library Edition', but still separately paginated and without an index, they are not being fairly treated by the publisher, who for *Social Reformers* has used differing paper for the first and second halves: in the first the type is easier to read and in the second the illustrations are clearer! The Clarendon Press hardly maintains its high standards in this volume.

Less advanced students have another series of biographies by Emmeline Garnett ⁸ produced in a more practical form. It is pleasant to find the Tudor volume beginning in 1540 and that 'it is very wrong to suppose that the life of a nation can be divided up into definite periods and labelled'. Miss Garnett sets herself a formidable task in reducing so many centuries and lives to their significant essentials. This is apparent in the sketchiness of the section entitled 'Interesting Places', of which so much could be made now that each year sees more important houses given to the National Trust or otherwise opened to the public. In the Tudor volume dates could be more clearly emphasized: it is exasperating, for instance, to learn that on 22 January Somerset's head was cut off! In *The Civil War* dates are clearer and more detail is included, but this more than other volumes seems to suffer from its biographical form: lacking a framework, it would need skilled assistance from the teacher to avoid confusion in young minds. The *Queen Anne* volume, in spite of some misprints, seemed by far the happiest in giving an impression of the period, and it raised regrets that the author had attempted so much at once.

John Finnemore's social history has been reissued in two finely illustrated volumes ⁹ with the last part rewritten by T. H. McGuffie. Much contemporary material is used for illustration but a more drastic revision might have improved the text in bringing it even closer to the pictures, while introducing, for variety, some suggestive questions and lines for further reading. Another social history for junior forms, with an accent on changes in transport, has been written by Agnes Allen ¹⁰ round the family of Martin Redman. It is a

⁷ *Lives of Great Men and Women*. (Christopher Columbus; Ferdinand Magellan; Captain James Cook; Sir John Hunt.) By N. Wymer. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1956. 36 pp. each. 1s. 9d. each. Also *Social Reformers* (being Series I of eight earlier *Lives of Great Men and Women* bound together). By N. Wymer, Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1955. 7s. 6d.

⁸ *Makers of History* (Book I: The Tudors. II: The Civil War. III: Queen Anne and her Times. IV: The Age of Reform.) By Emmeline Garnett. Black. 1956. 88 pp. each. Boards, 4s. each, Linson, 3s. 6d. each.

⁹ *Social Life in England*. By John Finnemore. New revised edition. Black. 1955. Book I: 128 pp., with 117 illustrations; Book II: 152 pp., with 94 illustrations. 6s. each.

¹⁰ *Life in Britain Since 1700*. By Agnes Allen, Johnston and Bacon. 1956. 184 pp., with 62 illustrations. 5s. 9d.

good story introducing much of interest, but requiring a great deal of explanation from the teacher if it is to be properly understood. Some of this might have been included in the text. The same criticism can be applied to John Hampden's modern English rendering of the *Itinerary of Richard I*:¹¹ it is an admirable undertaking, but the notes have been too much reduced and the editor should have played a bigger part throughout in clarifying the material. It is a pity too that a reconstruction of Krak should be used as an illustration, instead of a photograph and an annotated plan which would provide most useful teaching material.

Last but certainly not the least useful of recent junior school books is E. K. Milliken's review of ancient history.¹² Much teaching experience has been put into this volume, in which the text is broken up well by illustrations and boxes containing literary source material. 'Characteristic traits' mentioned in the text can be identified in the sources and there are simple diagrams explaining administrative organization and the spheres presided over by gods with strange forms and names. The 'Sequences' of important dates would perhaps have been better presented in parallel rather than in line, and some of the annotations are too clipped to be clear. But it is a full-blooded book, packed with information and conceived in a practical way with the class and its teacher always in mind. The teacher is given every kind of suggestion towards helping his own understanding and presentation of the material.

A pictorial chart¹³ showing 'The Fertile Crescent' is a useful addition to teaching aids, for this much-mentioned feature can be elusive when pointed out on physical or political maps. There are also some new film strips¹⁴ for those who like this medium. Selectors of material are still choosing pictures with too much detail to appear clearly in the small picture normally obtainable in a classroom. It seems extraordinary also that the teaching notes, often compiled by teachers of experience and renown, cannot be at once more precise, more comprehensive and yet briefer. All kinds of things light up the interest of the young: details of artists and where pictures are to be seen can be as important as the pictures themselves: similarly, architectural detail illustrated from nameless churches lacks an important element of interest. Coloured strips, studiously avoiding actual photographs or contemporary drawings, are surely works of supererogation.

¹¹ *Crusader King*. Edited by J. Hampden in The Golden Legend Series. Edmund Ward. 1956. 168 pp., with 4 illustrations. 9s. 6d.

¹² *The Cradles of Western Civilization*. By E. K. Milliken. Harrap. 1956. 208 pp., with illustrations, maps and diagrams. 7s. 6d.

¹³ Published by Pictorial Charts Unit of 153 Uxbridge Road, London, W.7, along with several other titles. 6s. each.

¹⁴ *The Parish Church*: 48 frames: notes by J. Ibbotson: Educational Productions Ltd., No. 5157. 15s.

Napoleon: 40 frames: notes by S. M. Toyne: Common Ground CGB 684. 16s. 6d.

Christopher Wren: 40 frames: notes by V. Furst: Common Ground CGB 699. 16s. 6d.

The Town: 30 frames (colour): notes by A. C. Green: Common Ground CGB 667. 25s.

Saint Andrew and Saint Patrick: 28 frames (colour): notes by L. G. Annand and F. A. Ring: Common Ground CGB 672. 25s.

- ARCHIVES YEAR BOOK FOR SOUTH AFRICAN HISTORY. Vol. II 1954, 308 pp. Vol. I 1955, 283 pp. Cape Town: Government Printer.
- H. Becker (ed.): SOCIETIES AROUND THE WORLD: A NEW SHORTER EDITION: ESKIMO, NAVAJO, BAGANDA, CHINESE PEASANT, COTTON SOUTH, ENGLISH MIDLANDS. New York: Dryden Press. 1956. 811 pp. \$6.50.
- E. Berkovits: JUDAISM: FOSSIL OR FERMENT. New York: Philosophical Library, 1956. 176 pp. \$4.50.
- R. Bultmann: PRIMITIVE CHRISTIANITY IN ITS CONTEMPORARY SETTING, trans. by the Rev. R. H. Fuller. London: Thames and Hudson. 1956. 240 pp. 18s.
- G. Burdeau: LA DÉMOCRATIE. Brussels: Office de publicité, S.A. 1956. 115 pp. 60 fr.
- G. Graystone: THE DEAD SEA SCROLLS AND THE ORIGINALITY OF CHRIST. London: Sheed and Ward. 1956. 117 pp. 8s. 6d.
- INTERNATIONAL BIBLIOGRAPHY OF HISTORICAL SCIENCES. Vol. XXII. Paris: A. Colin. 1955. 369 pp.
- T. Huebener and C. H. Voss: THIS IS ISRAEL. New York: Philosophical Library. 1956. 166 pp. \$3.75.
- A. Maurois: A HISTORY OF ENGLAND (new edition with two additional chapters). London: Bodley Head. 1956. 528 pp. 25s.
- M. Mégret: LA GUERRE PSYCHOLOGIQUE. Paris: Presses Universitaires (Que sais-je?). 1956. 128 pp.
- H. Metzger: ST. PAUL'S JOURNEYS IN THE GREEK ORIENT, trans. by S. H. Hooke. London: S.C.M. Press. 1956. 75 pp. 8s. 6d.
- I. Moncreiffe and D. Pottinger: BLOOD ROYAL. Edinburgh: Nelson. 1956. 64 pp. 12s. 6d.
- M. Newark: DICTIONARY OF SPANISH LITERATURE. New York: Philosophical Library. 1956. 352 pp. \$7.50.
- T. Saloutos: THEY REMEMBER AMERICA. Berkeley: University of California Press (London: C.U.P.). 1956. 153 pp. 26s.
- Graf zu Stolberg-Wernigerode: GESCHICHTE DER VEREINIGTEN STAATEN VON AMERIKA. Berlin: W. de Gruyter (Sammlung Götschen). 1956. 192 pp.
- C. E. Surman: A. G. MATTHEW'S 'WALKER REVISED'. SUPPLEMENTARY INDEX OF 'INTRUDERS' AND OTHERS. Dr. Williams's Trust. 1956. 23 pp. 3s. 9d.
- TRANSACTIONS OF THE ROYAL HISTORICAL SOCIETY, Fifth series, vol. 6. 1956. 260 pp.
- W. Treue: DEUTSCHE GESCHICHTE VON 1648 BIS 1740. Berlin: W. de Gruyter (Sammlung Götschen). 1956. 220 pp.
- F. de Ville: TZIGANES. Brussels: Office de Publicité, S.A. 1956. 214 pp. 120 fr.
- A. Waldhorn: A CONCISE DICTIONARY OF THE AMERICAN LANGUAGE. New York: Philosophical Library. 1956. 186 pp. \$4.50.
- Whymys: LÉOPOLDVILLE: SON HISTOIRE, 1881-1956. Brussels: Office de Publicité, S.A. 1956. 196 pp.

THE KING AND THE STRUCTURE OF SOCIETY IN LATE ANGLO-SAXON ENGLAND

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THE KING and the structure of society in late Anglo-Saxon England is one of those old well-worn themes which no student of history can approach without feeling the weight of tradition heavy on him. From Round, Maitland and Vinogradoff to Sir Frank Stenton, to mention only the outstanding peaks in a massive range, the tally of great names is formidable. Yet the topic itself, for all the labour expended and for all the niceness of definition achieved, still remains capable of arousing differences of opinion and even some heat. Professor Douglas has shown us in *The Norman Conquest and British Historians*¹ that the Saxon-Norman conflict runs deep, not always on dispassionate, scientific levels. Even on the so-called dispassionate levels there is plentiful ground for disagreement. There can be few teachers of medieval English history with strength or inclination to resist putting side by side a picture of late Anglo-Saxon England where freedom had degenerated into anarchy and 'liberty into licence'² and another picture of that same pre-Conquest England, cultured, relatively advanced, with the Normans as a rude and somewhat barbarous people even though politically they were 'the masters of their world'.³

Well-worn though the theme may be it still provides one of the broadest paths into any discussion of feudal society, and recently there have been many conscientious and interesting attempts to rethink the old familiar material. One of the objects of this paper is to comment on some of the ideas put forward, notably on those expressed by Mr. Jolliffe in his study of Angevin kingship. Another object is to discuss standards that can be employed to assess the archaic or non-archaic nature of late Anglo-Saxon kingship, much brought into question in some recent literature where one notes a shifting back of emphasis on

¹ Glasgow University Publications, LXVII, 1946.

² H. W. C. Davis, *England under the Normans and Angevins*, p. 2.

³ F. M. Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, p. 678.

to the archaic nature of both kingship and society before the Conquest. Professor Perrin, for example, in a discussion of Marc Bloch's *La Société Féodale*, came to the conclusion that commendation in England had never gone past the stage reached in France in the Merovingian epoch.⁴ Dr. Tryggvi Oleson in a study of the Witan referred in connection with the geld to features in eleventh-century English society more reminiscent of early Merovingian Frankia than of eleventh-century Gaul or eleventh-century Scandinavia.⁵ Even Professor Barlow, who gives full credit to the achievements of the Old English monarchy, says, and rightly so of course, that in some respects eleventh-century England was not unlike Gaul in the Carolingian period, and also that England was closest in structure and development to that other Carolingian fossil, Germany.⁶ It is Mr. Jolliffe, however, approaching the problem on a different tack from that usually employed, who has brought the question fully into the open.

Mr. Jolliffe's main thesis is clear and trenchant: 'from the stem of feudal jurisdiction grows up the full tree of English royal power'.⁷ The kings are kings because they are lords. The king as supreme lord exercises at the highest level the justiciary rights contained in all feudal lordship. And as feudal jurisdiction is substantially new in England in 1066 Mr. Jolliffe is brought to conclude that 'in face of these innovations the marks of the Saxon king's leadership become serious again only after reinterpretation', the Anglo-Norman law-books providing interesting examples of that reinterpretation from the modifications made in their translation of pre-Conquest dooms.⁸ Side by side with Maitland's familiar red thread of the Norman Conquest cutting through our social history we have therefore this great Norman flaw lying across our constitutional path.

In this setting the kingship of Edward the Confessor seems predominantly a monarchy of persons. The crown is not territorial; kingly power differs from other power only by the cost of its infringement; a larger fine for disobedience distinguishes the king. Most significant of all in relation to the moots, the function of the king is seen as essentially external, in his possession of a right to order a defaulting moot to act or in a right of protection.⁹ The moots bore a constitutional force of their own; distraint and responsibility for the peace lay with them rather than with the royal officers. In stating this case Mr. Jolliffe remarks acutely that Clause 20.1 of the Grately decrees lays the responsibility for distraint and setting in pledge on the eldest of the moot.¹⁰ It should be pointed out, however, that the eldest of the moot act only after a failure on the part of the offender to pay the fine for disobedience to the king, and further we are told expressly

⁴ *Revue Historique*, 1944, p. 33.

⁵ *The Witenagemot in the Reign of Edward the Confessor*, p. 96.

⁶ *The Feudal Kingdom of England*, pp. 23 and 54.

⁷ *Angevin Kingship*, p. 31.

⁸ *Ibid.* pp. 24 and 28.

⁹ *Ibid.* p. 23.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* p. 23. Ath. 20.1.

that if any of them will not ride with his companions then he shall pay the same fine.¹¹ It seems very much like discipline at the king's command.

But Mr. Jolliffe's major argument, as far as one is justified in singling out one point from a very important piece of historical thinking, rests on the belief that the Anglo-Saxon kingship was not territorialized. One is left with a strong impression that the society lying behind the constitutional abstractions was antiquated, nearer to Scandinavian models, bondars and folk-moots, than to Carolingian or Merovingian.

This picture certainly seems at variance with that which we have come to take as orthodox for our generation. Of course the angle of approach is unusual: Mr. Jolliffe's prime concern lies with the twelfth century; more emphasis is placed on the feudal problems. And no one can or does deny that in matters of military organization, close definition of tenurial relationships, castle-building, England lagged behind the most advanced sections of Western Europe; though it is not irrelevant to note that the modern trend appears to be to remark again on the comparative novelty of these developments on the continent, to make clearer the distinction between the first and second feudal age, between Carolingian Neustria and feudal Normandy.¹²

Such an approach has led Mr. Jolliffe to say less than in his earlier work of the creative achievements of the tenth and eleventh centuries in England. It may be that a fairer balance is struck if we approach the problem of late Anglo-Saxon society directly through the problem of the part played by the king in that society. For this was a period in which, in spite of upheavals attendant upon political defeat and absorption of settlers, the lines of social development were continuous: the gradual weakening of ties of kindred, the emergence of a territorial lord—who was also a thegn—as the characteristic social leader over much of England, the territorialization of political power. In such a society we can see, perhaps to a greater extent than Mr. Jolliffe would allow, the king's residual authority flourishing as new spheres of communal activity come under rational definition. Indeed it might be argued that more so in England than elsewhere do we see the community and the monarchy growing together, and that monarchic developments far from being exotic or archaic are the most solid and central aspects of our social growth in these centuries.

Nor are we without reasonably objective tests to assess the archaic or non-archaic quality of the monarchy and society in their eleventh-century context. As a working basis the three following tests may be found acceptable:

- (1) The sentiment of belonging to a single political community.

¹¹ Ath. 20, 20.2: E.H.D. i. 384.

¹² There is a very suggestive article by M. de Bouard on this point: *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, 1955, pp. 1-14.

- (2) Acceptance that the ultimate responsibility for the administration of good law rests with the king.
- (3) Acceptance that the responsibility for the supervision of the local communities rests with the king, coupled with a territorialization of political power in those localities.

Under the first head, the sentiment of belonging to a single political community, one finds substantial agreement. Northumbria is of course a special case—Miss Whitelock is wise to remind us of the Northumbrian hostage present at the field of Maldon¹³—but it is true, and not merely evasive, to say that England was made south of the Humber just as surely as France was made north of the Loire. And within the Southumbrian lands astonishing political progress was made in the course of the period, A.D. 900–1066. Provincial feeling naturally remained strong in some respects: the three laws into which England was divided,¹⁴ the assertion in the fourth code of Edgar that the Danes should be governed by such good laws as they shall decide upon.¹⁵ But there are strong hints also of a genuine feeling of a unity that was England. The language, classical West Saxon, came to achieve a substantial degree of uniformity as a literary and diplomatic instrument. The royal style in the eleventh century,¹⁶ the simple *cyning* or *Ethelred*, *Engla cyning*, or *Cnut Englalondes ond Dena cyning*, was more informative than the experiments of Athelstan's scribes. Occasionally the Chronicle comes to our help: the Peterborough Chronicle in 1051 of the Beverstone meeting—'they were reluctant to stand against their royal lord', MSS. C and D in 1052—'it was most hateful to almost all of them to fight against men of their own race because there was little else that was worth anything apart from Englishmen on either side', MS. D in 1065 with the Northumbrian recognition of Edward's right to appoint Morcar as eorl.¹⁷ England was more than a theory, more than half-made.

Perhaps the most tangible evidence comes from a field into which historians are beginning somewhat slowly to intrude: that of the numismatist. Thanks in particular to the recent labours of Mr. Dolley both in this country and in Sweden, the tangled picture of the tenth- and eleventh-century currency is rapidly becoming clearer.¹⁸ Not least

¹³ D. Whitelock, *English Historical Documents*, i. 50.

¹⁴ Still preserved in *Leges Henrici Primi*, Cl. 6., though the *tremendum regie maiestatis . . . imperium* lies above Wessex, Mercia and the *Danorum provincia*. F. Liebermann, *Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen*, i. 552.

¹⁵ IV Edgar 2.1: E.H.D. i. 399: the dooms against theft and the trade regulations nevertheless apply to the whole realm.

¹⁶ Liebermann ii. 556, Königstitel.

¹⁷ Fully discussed by Professor Wilkinson, *Bulletin of John Rylands Library* 22, pp. 368–87 (*Freeman and the Crisis of 1051*), and 23, pp. 509–26 (*Northumbrian Separatism in 1065 and 1066*).

¹⁸ The standard general guide remains G. C. Brooke, *English Coins from the Seventh Century to the Tenth Century*. Among Mr. Dolley's publications, many of which appear in recent numbers of the *Numismatic Chronicle* and the *British Numismatic Journal*, historians will find his monograph on *The Mint of Chester* a particularly valuable introduction to the whole problem (*Chester Archaeological Society's Journal*, Vol. 42).

pleasing of the new developments is the consciousness that the disciplines are working very closely together, and that the legal record becomes less arid as the collateral evidence of the numismatist substantiates it and gives it reality. Certain of the well-attested points merit attention.

In the days of Edward the Elder the English coinage reached its highest level of artistic treatment and originality since the great period of Offa.¹⁹ Athelstan's Grately decrees introduced for the first time what became a common refrain in later Anglo-Saxon codes: 'one currency shall run throughout the realm'.²⁰ Athelstan also defined the minting places in southern England, and laid down penalties for the infringement of coining rights—the coiner to lose a hand, a penalty into which some have read Byzantine influence.²¹ Under Edgar there is positive numismatic evidence to confirm the legal insistence on royal control, and Mr. Dolley has called our attention to technical advances of considerable moment that were made during this reign.²² On the obverse the royal portrait becomes with few exceptions the standard feature of English coins; on the reverse appears the name of the mint and the moneyer; the die-axis, hitherto somewhat capricious, is more straitly disciplined, generally confined to one of four degrees of relationship between obverse and reverse: 0°, 90°, 180°, or 270°. As Mr. Dolley says, the sixth type of Edgar truly marks an epoch in the history of English coinage. Later legislation continued to show strong royal concern with the purity of the coinage, though anxiety at those moneyers who worked in the woods may suggest that harsh discipline was not always effective.²³ The triple ordeal is ordered for one accused of false coining, mutilation or the death penalty to fall on the guilty.²⁴ Most interesting of all, the fifth code of Ethelred, Clause 26, lays down:²⁵

People are to be zealous about the improvement of the frith: and about the improvement of the coinage everywhere in the country and about burhbote, brichbote and fyrdunga.

which brings the coinage face to face with one of the most famous misprints of English history: the *trinoda necessitas*. It was laid down expressly that no man save the king was to have a moneyer, and one may safely assume that when in fact such grants were made, as to the border bishop of Hereford, they were franchisal in the highest degree.²⁶

The royal control over the technical processes also appears to have been considerable. The die-cutting centres were subject to close scrutiny and the frequent and controlled changes of type, together with the royal revenue accruing on such occasions, reminds us again that the

¹⁹ Brooke, *op. cit.*, p. 48.

²⁰ II Ath. 14, III Edgar 8, VI Ethelred 32, I Cnut 8, II Cnut 8.

²¹ II Ath. 14; R. S. Lopez 'Le Problème des Relations Anglo-Byzantines', *Byzantion*, 1948, pp. 157–60.

²² 'The Significance of Die-Axis in the Context of Later Anglo-Saxon Coinage', *British Numismatic Journal*, 1954.

²³ III Ethelred 16; IV Ethelred 5.4.

²⁵ Lieberman i. 242; E. H. D. i. 408 and note.

²⁴ III Ethelred 8; II Cnut 8.1.

²⁶ *Victoria County History*, Hereford, i. 309.

royal hand lies firm on this important aspect of national life.²⁷ Linked with the royal authority over the boroughs, each of which was allowed its mint,²⁸ over the bridges and probably also the *viae regis*²⁹ and the waterways,³⁰ this control of currency provides an impressive picture of royal England. Whenever the English act on more than a local scale then is the royal authority asserted. Strangers, merchants, kinless men, means of communication, coinage: wherever no clear existing right appeared then was the royal name invoked.

The question of relative importance might well be asked at this stage. Are not these manifestations of English unity somewhat exotic by the side say of the social differences that lay between East Anglia and Wessex, between the Northern Danelaw and Kent? Professor Douglas has reminded us that 'no interpretation of the age can be adequate which fails to appreciate the provincial differences existing in the Old English state, the abiding division between the Danelaw and the rest of England'.³¹ We know that these differences persisted in tenacious conservative fashion for many centuries beyond the Norman Conquest. Important as the social differences are, however, equally important is the fact that they do not receive effective political expression. The earldoms do not stand up well to close constitutional examination: their geographical extent is fluid, their names deceptive, the earl's power comes from his office and his land, a good portion of which is comital in nature. The very ambition of the earls found highest expression in an attempt, disastrously successful some might say, to seize the throne, not to indulge in provincial state-building after the fashion of contemporary Gaul.

Indeed the contrast between the subordinate position of the earl and the legal pre-eminence of the king is remarkable, though easy to explain. The religious nature of the kingship is quite as pronounced in Anglo-Saxon England as in Capetian France. The ingredients are all present: insular Germanic Christendom, a strong native culture, powerful co-operation between church and king. Ælfric in his familiar Palm Sunday homily gives what can be taken as a classic pre-Hildebrandine statement of what should be the rightful Christian attitude to the king:

No man can make himself king, but the folk has the free will to choose him to be king who is most pleasing to them: but after he has been consecrated king then has he power over that folk and they may not shake his yoke from off their necks.³²

As an illustration of the power of man to place himself within the devil's grasp this is not perhaps the happiest of choices.

²⁷ R. H. M. Dolley, *The Mint of Chester*, p. 1.

²⁸ II Ath. 14; F. M. Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, pp. 528-9.

²⁹ Particularly interesting are the four highways of the twelfth-century law-books, *Leis Willelme*, 26, and *Leges Edwardi Confessoris*, 12.

³⁰ Miss F. E. Harmer, *Anglo-Saxon Writs*, p. 426, has a judicious note on the ownership of sea and wreck.

³¹ E.H.D. ii. 14.

³² *Homilies of the Anglo-Saxon Church* I, p. 212; E.H.D. i. 851.

These are of course abstract ideas, and one is sometimes painfully aware of an over-anxious note in the insistence on the unity of the Christian church and kingdom. We should love God . . . hold zealously to one Christendom . . . hold fast to one Christendom under one kingdom.³³ It is only a step to the moralist's assertion that failure to pay church-scot has led to the triumph of the heathen. Nevertheless there is more to it than mere words. The struggle with the heathen had been desperate. Grants of land had been made 'as long as the Christian religion shall survive', or 'as long as baptism shall prevail'.³⁴ Peril had sharpened awareness of political unity among Anglo-Saxons and converted Danes. Under the guidance of Canute and of Edward the Confessor that feeling was intensified. Since Mr. Southern and Miss Heningham gave us back our *Vita Edwardi* we have been able to talk freely once more of the monarch Christus Dei, the king of the English who was of God, Edward chosen not by men but divinely, of our own Roi Thaumaturge.³⁵ The Christian community of England was vital enough to survive and to absorb the Danish settlers and conquerors; its symbol lay pre-eminently in the person of the consecrated monarch.

All this can be true yet kingship remain antiquated. The royal strength may contain theocratic elements, but these can lead to a parallel of an ominous nature,—a sentimental Carolingian survival, a Carolingian fossil.

Opportunity has however been given us recently, particularly by the work of Miss Harmer, of looking afresh at the strength of the Anglo-Saxon monarchy in the fields of administration and justice. It is here that we may find our second major test for eleventh-century monarchy: the ultimate responsibility for administration and for making grants of jurisdiction. It is precisely here that we can be sure that the achievements of the Anglo-Saxon kings did not consist merely in pious platitude or empty legislative flourish.

Landbooks, writs, the writing-office make a formidable trio, even if we agree that the formal landbook had had its day by 1066,³⁶ and that it was left to the Normans to perfect the use of the writ.³⁷ Archbishop Lyfing's wry comment to Canute that he had charters in plenty if only they were good for anything warns us sharply not to take shadow for substance.³⁸ The existence of a well-organized writing office is still a matter for some dispute, and is likely to remain so until our charters receive the careful editorial attention they deserve. Most agree that under Athelstan and his immediate successors the royal scriptorium

³³ V Ethelred 1.

³⁴ Miss F. E. Harmer, *Select Documents of the Ninth and Tenth Century*, IX, X, XIII, XXI. Miss Ashdown, 'Anglo-Saxon Attitude to the Scandinavian Invaders', *Saga-Book of the Viking Society*, Vol. X, pp. 91-3.

³⁵ R. W. Southern, 'The First Life of Edward the Confessor', *E.H.R.*, lviii, pp. 385-400. Miss E. K. Heningham, 'The Genuineness of the *Vita Ædwardi Regis*', *Speculum*, 21, pp. 419-56.

³⁶ F. M. Stenton, *Latin Charters of the Anglo-Saxon Period*, p. 85.

³⁷ G. Barraclough, 'The Anglo-Saxon Writ,' *History*, 1954, pp. 211-12.

³⁸ *Anglo-Saxon Writs*, 26, p. 182.

reached a peak of efficiency; it is the last century of Anglo-Saxon England that gives more food for debate. There were periods when the initiative in drawing up formal landbooks passed from the central writing-office to interested ecclesiastics. On the other hand the evolution of the sealed writ in itself constitutes a remarkable achievement, credit for which must go to the royal clerks. The writ was on the surface not as impressive as the great formal charter, but in convenience and capacity for wider application it promised much for the future. Though we can identify no chancellor in the days of Edward the Confessor, yet the first known officer bearing that name makes his appearance a bare two years after the Conquest. The writing-office itself was taken over virtually intact by William I; the most cautious assessment of Old English techniques of government must pay tribute to the ample heritage provided for the Norman duke.³⁹

Above all on the administrative side there was the geld. Awkward, harsh, subject to reservations, the geld, as Maitland told us, was weighty enough to reshape society.⁴⁰ For all its imperfections it was the only regular land-tax in the west, exhibiting two features that speak well for the administrative skill of the Anglo-Saxons. The first of these is an ability to take over old institutions and make them work; and one thinks, for example, of the assessment scheme of East Anglia or of the hidage of an estate like Hampton Lucy to which Sir Frank Stenton has called our attention: twelve manentes in 781 and twelve hides in 1086.⁴¹ Its second feature is an altogether surprising flexibility. Beneficial hidation was no innovation of the Conquest, and Miss Harmer has confirmed several examples of this process dating from before 1066: Chilcomb reduced from 100 hides to a nominal 1, Chippenham Cambs., Wenlock, Liskeard.⁴² The flexibility indicated that the geld worked; complaints were more inclined to be directed against severity than against evasion as was the case with ecclesiastical imposts. What is more, there can be little doubt that a closer definition of a class responsible for the collection of geld, possibly over much of England of landlords who were also thegns, brought a confirmation of the liaison between monarchy and landholder in these barbarian-resisting centuries.

On the question of control of justice, that second major field of activity, we enter more debatable ground. The problem lies not with the great franchises, few in number, confined to great and specially favoured ecclesiastical houses, at times straitly circumscribed in area. Whether in the form of hundredal jurisdiction or of extended right of sanctuary their dependence on royal grant is clear, though it could easily happen, as Mr. Miller reminds us in his study of the abbey of

³⁹ Useful introductions to an exceptionally complicated problem are to be found in F. M. Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, pp. 349 and 633-5, *Latin Charters*, particularly pp. 90-1; F. E. Harmer, *Anglo-Saxon Writs*, pp. 38-41, 57-61; G. Barraclough, *op. cit.*, pp. 212-13.

⁴⁰ *Domesday Book and Beyond*, p. 8.

⁴¹ *Latin Charters*, p. 74.

⁴² *Anglo-Saxon Writs*, pp. 374-80.

Ely, that what originated as a fiscal privilege could develop into a court-keeping right.⁴³

The real problem of pre-Conquest jurisdiction lies with the significance of sake and soke and its allied rights, which could be held in 1066 by many people of humble condition, such as the Nottinghamshire Englishman of Clayborough who held a single manerium, rated at half a bovate, valued at 16*d.*, with sake and soke,⁴⁴ or the seven moneyers of Hereford who also held their own sake and soke.⁴⁵

Did this sake and soke involve the holding of a court, and, if so, what type of court involving what jurisdiction? The Quo Warranto Commissioners were at a loss when they asked the Prior of Drax to define his rights of sake and soke, of toll and team. So was the prior. Wise in his generation *Prior nichil dicit*.⁴⁶ Not so wise perhaps all historians who have set out boldly to construe. Perhaps the task has been bedevilled by a natural anxiety to make formal and uniform what was often informal and developing, above all to see sake and soke solely as privilege to the recipient where it may also have been assertion on the part of the grantor. At all events it is agreed that most men of position in 1066 exercised and valued rights known as sake and soke, and probably embracing toll and team and infangenetheof. In these basic concessions it might be doubted if much more than the fundamentals of estate discipline were involved. The lord accepts the responsibility for regulating the life of the estate over and against the outside world; principles applicable in a simpler age to the household were extended to the estate; the grant of sake and soke may be the reflection back from the king to the estate of the lord's duty to act as guarantor and advocate for his men at the public courts, the disciplinary side of his obligations to see that transactions such as the hanging of a hand-having thief or vouching to warranty were carried out in accordance with the general laws of the community. In particular, team, the supervision of the process of vouching to warranty, was a key matter in the suppression of theft. It was natural that a lord should be drawn heavily into it, natural too that financial compensation should come his way. The Wantage decrees attempt to limit the procedure, together with the ordeal, to a king's *burh*.⁴⁷ Canute, perhaps more realistically getting behind the offence to the cause, lays down that nothing valued at more than four-pence was to be sold unless four men acted as trustworthy witnesses *binnan byrig* or *up on lande*.⁴⁸ The important point is that in supervising team, as in his exercise of infangenetheof, the lord would be doing only what the general law of the realm expected of him. Indeed the feature of sake and soke and the allied rights that requires emphasis may be precisely the royal initiative involved in the making of such grants, though as Sir Frank Stenton reminds us it would be presuming too

⁴³ E. Miller, *The Abbey and Bishopric of Ely*, pp. 25-35.

⁴⁴ F. M. Stenton, *Types of Manorial Structure in the Northern Danelaw*, p. 22.

⁴⁵ V.C.H., Hereford, i. 309.

⁴⁶ Pollock and Maitland, *History of English Law*, i. 564.

⁴⁷ III Ethelred 6.1: E.H.D. i. 404.

⁴⁸ II Cnut 24: E.H.D. i. 422.

much to expect that everyone exercising sake and soke in 1066 would be able to show a royal writ authorizing him to do so.⁴⁹

We know further that the concessions were extended at times to include other matters whose relatively unremarkable quality was more disputable: matters such as grithbryce, foresteall and hamsoen. According to the Worcester Domesday the Abbot of Westminster enjoyed similar privileges in his Worcester lands, the king retaining them over the rest of the shire: infringement of the sheriff's hand-given peace, foresteall and hamfare, all emendable at 100s.⁵⁰ The key legal statement lies in the second code of Canute, Clauses 12 and 15, and Miss Hurnard has argued from an analysis of this code and of later law books that the offences in question, though normally the preserve of the king, were in reality only the borderline causes, the emendable offences, sources of profit that could easily be delegated.⁵¹ Fines for breach of a special peace around the estate, for ambush and for housebreaking seem reasonable perquisites for a great lord such as our Abbot of Westminster. It is the greater, the bootless offences, such as those listed in II Canute 64, that remain out of private hands: *husbryce* and *bærnet* and *open þyð* and *æbere morð* and *hlaforðsweyfe*.⁵²

Indeed it might be said that the legal rights commonly granted in Anglo-Saxon England were very much those that one would expect a powerful lord to possess. And the fact of the grants exhibits not weakness on the part of the king but rather strength as large unclaimed or ill-defined areas of jurisdiction come more firmly to be regarded as part of the royal preserve.

This brings us finally to the last of the objective tests which we may apply to the nature of late Anglo-Saxon society and monarchy, to the state of affairs in the localities, to the local courts and to the territorialization of political power to which grants of sake and soke made their contribution. Mr. Jolliffe talks of the gap that separates the crown and the local community.⁵³ Professor Barlow's quiet, unobtrusive 'there seem to have been no folk-moots'⁵⁴ is more to the point, and certainly the law-codes demonstrate at every turn how busy the royal officers were in the local moots. Of more moment than the officers in this respect was the class of men known as thegns, reinforced from the days of Canute by housecarls settled on the land. In no area of Western Europe does the authority of the king seem so closely geared to that of the local landholder. Edgar sets the pattern followed in later legislation when he declares:

and in each borough and in each shire I shall have the rights due to my kingship even as my father had, and my thegns shall hold to their condition in my time even as in my father's day.⁵⁵

⁴⁹ *Anglo-Saxon England*, p. 493.

⁵⁰ N. Hurnard, 'The Anglo-Norman Franchises', *E.H.R.* lxiv, 1949, p. 294.

⁵¹ Liebermann i. 352; *E.H.D.* i. 427.

⁵² *The Feudal Kingdom of England*, p. 11.

⁵³ V.C.H., Worcester, i. 282-3.

⁵⁴ *Angevin Kingship*, p. 23.

⁵⁵ IV Edgar 2a; *E.H.D.* i. 399; *mine þegnas hæbben heora sciþe*, Liebermann i. 208.

Harsh things have been said from time to time of these thegns. After all they were the losers, and their virtual disappearance as an effective class within a generation of the Conquest has led not unnaturally to a writing down of the positive social achievement their presence implies. Even Maitland says, pulling us up in our tracks as Anglo-Saxon sympathies grow too strong:

It has not been proved to our satisfaction that the men who ruled England in the age before the Conquest were far-sighted; their work ended in a stupendous failure.⁵⁶

which is well said, but not perhaps scrupulously fair. The process that made England a territorial kingdom owed much to the thegns—landholders, some of them extensive landholders in many shires, founders of churches, even patrons of literature and the arts.

The thegns have suffered too from the inevitable contrast with the feudal society that followed them, even to a generation that sometimes sees the Norman knight as possessed essentially of the attributes of a sound corporal of horse. The word thegn lays itself open to charges of imprecision. In the Alfredian translations the ministerial element is strong; a thegn is still essentially one who serves.⁵⁷ In the eleventh century the precise meaning of the term is still not always clear. Christ Church writs refer to thegns, *twelfhynde* and *twyhynde*, though this may be a Kentish peculiarity.⁵⁸ In Domesday Book we meet, oddly enough, a *francus teignus*.⁵⁹ Post-Conquest sources sometimes treat thegn as an equivalent of *baro*: as good a Norman as Geoffrey de Ros is called a thegn.⁶⁰ No wonder that Ellis attempted a division into thegn and *theoden* to express the undoubted range that existed in the thegnly class:⁶¹ from the founder of Burton Abbey to the poor *taini* of 1066.⁶² And Canute's well-known classification of thegns into three groups according to heriot is well attested by the evidence of Anglo-Saxon wills.⁶³

Even in the literary sources, however, the meaning of thegn grows more precise in the late Old English period, the sense of position involved coming to outweigh the sense of service, which had still been the stronger in the ninth century. Miss Whitelock has called our attention to a fragment of the work of Wulfstan found in a Cambridge manuscript:⁶⁴

It so happens that a slave earns his freedom from a churl, and a churl by the earl's gift becomes entitled to a thegn's rank, and a thegn by the king's gift becomes entitled to an earldom; and wrong it is then if the man who by

⁵⁶ *Domesday Book and Beyond*, p. 103.

⁵⁷ 'Gesiths and Thengs in Anglo-Saxon England', *E.H.R.*, lxx, 1955, p. 543.

⁵⁸ *Anglo-Saxon Writs*, 26, p. 181; cf. pp. 169-70.

⁵⁹ V.C.H., Essex, i, 357.

⁶⁰ D. C. Douglas, 'The Norman Conquest and English Feudalism', *Econ. H.R.*, 1939, p. 134.

⁶¹ *Introduction to Domesday*, p. 49.

⁶² *Anglo-Saxon England*, p. 545.

⁶³ D. Whitelock, *Anglo-Saxon Wills*, index under heriot.

⁶⁴ E.H.D. i, 59.

God's gift and by divine learning has risen to holy orders and has become God's thegn may not be entitled to greater respect and dignity in secular affairs. . . .

It is the respect and dignity that is emphasized, not the sense of service implied in the old compounds *altar-thegn* and *mass-thegn*.

An equal sharpening in precision of the term may be seen in the lawbooks of the tenth and eleventh centuries. For all its range the class of thegns remained a class. Thegnship was heritable; the *wergeld* was, save surely in the rarest of cases, six times that of the *ceorl*. The class was not, of course, exclusive. Most familiar of all information concerning the thegn comes from a private text which tells us, with a hankering after ideal times in the past, how *ceorls* and merchants may thrive to thegnright, the former by the possession of full five hides of his own land, a church and a kitchen, a bell-house and castle-gate, a seat and special office in the king's hall, the latter, a good viking skipper no doubt, by making his three journeys across the sea at his own expense.⁶⁵ A public ceremony would presumably be associated with the bestowal of the new status; particularly as in theory even a thrall could eventually become a thegn.⁶⁶

It seems reasonable to deduce from the evidence relating to function and status in the lawbooks that there emerged in later Anglo-Saxon England a class bound by special legal bonds to the king and to his representative, *ealdorman* or *eorl*, a class that may in its growth represent the territorialization of political power. The thegn was the typical member of such a class, and his function was twofold: he was a skilled fighting man; he was also a landholder substantially responsible for the maintenance of local peace in his community or communities. Edgar in his secular ordinance tells us, and Canute reaffirms it:

The judge (*se dema*) who gives false judgment shall pay 120s. compensation to the king unless he dare declare on oath that he knew not how to do it more justly—and he is always to forfeit his thegnly status, unless he may redeem it from the king, according as he will allow him.⁶⁷

As a fighting man the thegn appears at his best in the poem on Maldon with its familiar epic setting of great bravery in a hopeless situation. The epic virtues are all there: pride, consciousness of duty, of loyalty to the lord to whom had been entrusted the *eard Ethelredes*, disgust at the traitors who fled. Perhaps it has not been sufficiently remarked that the boasts of the warriors, formalized though they might be, indicate a class sense and a loyalty that went far beyond the locality, far beyond the immediate lord. 'I am of high kin among the Mercians, my grandfather was *ealdorman*. . . thegns shall not need to reproach me among my people', says Ælfwine. 'Nor need the heroes around Stur-

⁶⁵ *Gedyncdo*, 2 and 6, Liebermann i. 456; E.H.D. i. 432.

⁶⁶ D. Whitelock, *The Beginnings of English Society*, p. 86.

⁶⁷ Liebermann i. 200 and 318; E.H.D. i. 396 and 421; III Edgar 3 and II Cnut 15.1.

mere jeer at me because I deserted my lord at need', says Leofsunu.⁶⁸ At Fulford and at Hastings the same solidarity was seen. 'Quos Tahnos dicunt et in bello Hastingsis occubuerant', says the Abingdon Chronicle. On which Freeman comments, 'for a man to have been a thegn of Berkshire implied almost as a matter of course that he had died at Senlac'.⁶⁹

In his local setting we see the thegn best in the *Rectitudines Singularum Personarum*, a document relating to conditions on a great estate, presumably in the south or west of England during the generation preceding the Conquest.⁷⁰ For all its difficulties, for all its scholarly insistence that customs vary from estate to estate, the *Rectitudines* gives a reasonable picture of the duties expected of an average thegn, at least in the more heavily manorialized part of the country. We are told that the thegn shall be worthy of his bookland, and we know that failure to perform military service will cause forfeiture of that land. From other sources we learn that the king claimed the reversion of bookland in case of outlawry or cowardice,⁷¹ and that he even laid title to fines incurred by men holding bookland.⁷² Not of course that the thegn was a feudal vassal. His services remained general and unspecialized, to perform the three duties to his lord of fyrd, burh and brycg, in some estates to do further service at the royal command, honourable service of various kinds, such as those connected with sea-ward or hunting. So much at least we can gather without question from the *Rectitudines*.

The thegn also performed important executive functions in his own district, and whether king's thegn or great noble's thegn was in law bound close to his royal master. The soke over a thegn could be and was delegated on occasion to great ecclesiastic or earl.⁷³ Nevertheless the legal principle was affirmed that jurisdiction over the king's thegns rested with the king.⁷⁴ In the crisis of 1051 we note how the king was anxious to gain the allegiance of those thegns who had formerly been specifically the earls', the latter surrendering their lordship over the thegns to their royal master.⁷⁵ The oath of Salisbury has a deep and complicated context.

These men of thegnly status were those who controlled the moots, tested the oaths, acted as sureties for their men. In a real sense they made up the courts to which even then the royal writs were addressed: 'to the bishop, earl and all his thegns in Berkshire, *freondlic*'.⁷⁶

They also represent what is essentially a new dominant landlord class. The clash of loyalties between kinsman and lord had long been resolved in favour of the latter. Alfred's law permitting a man to fight on behalf of his kin if unjustly attacked 'except against his lord: that

⁶⁸ *ll.* 218-20 and *l.* 249; E.H.D. i. 296.

⁶⁹ V.C.H., Berkshire, i. 295.

⁷¹ II Cnut 13.1 and 77.1; E.H.D. i. 420 and 430.

⁷² *Liebermann* i. 218; I Ethelred 1. 14.

⁷⁴ III Ethelred 11; E.H.D. i. 404.

⁷⁶ *Anglo-Saxon Writs*, 5, p. 132.

⁷⁰ E.H.D. ii. 813.

⁷³ *Anglo-Saxon Writs*, 33, p. 186.

⁷⁵ E.H.D. ii. 124; Chronicle E, 1051.

we do not permit' gave legal expression to what was probably already social fact.⁷⁷ Kindred ties remained strong—instances can be given both sides of the Conquest of powerful survival of kindred activity⁷⁸—but the major social movement seems very much in the direction of the stabilization of social groupings under the king into territorial neighbourhoods most of which lie under the strong influence of the territorial lord. The astonishing Clause twenty of Canute's second code suggests that even the wergeld is pressed into subordination by this social process:

Every freeman who wishes to be entitled to the right of exculpation and to a wergeld if anyone slays him is to be brought, if he is over twelve years old, into a hundred or tithing; or else he is not to be entitled to the rights of a freeman.

Furthermore each man, whether he was hearthfast or follower, was to be brought to a hundred and placed under a surety who was to hold him and to bring him to every legal duty. One does not wonder that Canute was more worried over the arrogance of overbearing lords than over the dangers coming from too powerful kindreds.⁷⁹

Throughout Western Europe the period was marked by troubles that caused men to seek lords and lords to seek men.⁸⁰ On no matter did the rhetoric of the legislator reach a higher note than on the necessity of observing the oath sworn to a lord. The flimsiness of mere commendation can be exaggerated; treachery to a lord ranked among the greatest of offences. In England the general European process seems to have been more neatly harnessed than elsewhere by energetic kings. The thegns were the chief agents in the process, and it was their failure in the military field that gave the newcomers a chance to build a feudal England on foundations already securely laid, above all on the territorialization of political power among the local communities. It is not to deny the virtues of the Normans to emphasize that the situation was favourable to them.

To conclude: it may be that the contrast between territorial and personal kingship so well drawn by Mr. Jolliffe should be pushed back before the eleventh century. And that indeed, while fully conscious of the gap that could exist between theory and practice, we retain awareness of the solid progress made in the century and a half before the Conquest towards the creation of a territorial state in England, where community action on any large scale was associated with the king, and where the search for validity, for legal sanction and permanence ended also with the king.

⁷⁷ Alf. 42.6; E.H.D. i. 380.

⁷⁸ D. Whitelock, *The Beginnings of English Society*, pp. 44-5.

⁷⁹ II Cnut 20, 20.1, 20.2; E.H.D. i. 421.

⁸⁰ M. Bloch, *La Société Féodale*, pp. 247-9.

THE ENTREPRENEUR IN THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION IN BRITAIN¹

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REFUTING THE ERRORS of those who have written of the 'disasters of the industrial revolution' Professor Ashton has pointed out that 'the central problem of the age was how to feed and clothe and employ generations of children outnumbering by far those of any other time'.² If England had remained a nation of cultivators and craftsmen she must have shared the fate of Ireland and submitted to the remedies of emigration or starvation. 'She was delivered', he writes, 'not by her rulers, but by those who, seeking no doubt their own narrow ends, had the wit and resource to devise new instruments of production and new methods of administering industry.'³

Here is a starting point for further enquiry. Professor Ashton has himself suggested some of the diverse considerations which led employers to reorganize industry on new lines. In the iron and cotton industries technology suggested large-scale production and the application of power in the factory. Elsewhere, economic rather than technological considerations prevailed. In the chemical and engineering industries, supervision was necessary to ensure quality of workmanship. In textiles, too, oversight was necessary and Benjamin Gott, the great woollen manufacturer at Leeds, saw the factory system as a preventive against the waste and embezzlement of materials. Wedgwood's *Etruria* was devised partially to exploit the economies to be derived from the division and subdivision of labour. And so on.⁴ The enquiry remains, nevertheless, in an early stage. What were the 'ends' which the entrepreneur of that age had before his eye? How 'narrow' were they? Why was he moved to devise new instruments of production and new types of industrial organization? And what was the social background against which this great increment of wealth was created?

First, however, let us remind ourselves that the economic historian who deals with the industrial revolution without reservation in terms of

¹ This is a revised and shortened version of a paper given at a conference at Harvard on the Entrepreneur and Economic Growth in November 1954 under the auspices of the Harvard Research Centre on Entrepreneurial History.

² Ashton, *The Industrial Revolution*, p. 161.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 109.

period will do so at his peril. Each industry had its own rate of progress. He will do well to remember too that he is dealing with a society which, though growing, was still relatively small and compact, and in which a more abstract and generalized system of economic relationships was only just beginning to encroach on one based largely on local and often family relations. The intimate connections between the growth of industry and the several kinds of religious Dissent—especially the older sects—have been fairly fully investigated and proven. It was not only the better (and more practical) education that Dissenters provided for themselves but the necessary solidarity they felt between themselves that helps to explain the phenomenon. The Meeting House or the Chapel extended the ties of the family, and you lent and borrowed within your known community with a confidence hardly yet to be extended beyond such limits. The parochial character of industry persisted much longer than is usually supposed: perhaps it still persists. A knowledgeable businessman could write in 1903 as if the spread in industry of limited liability was a recent thing, and about the same time a soap maker could write to a Bristol rival: ‘personal knowledge of each other is a great factor in the cohesion of the soap trade. . . .’ He was only repeating what earlier makers had said: that ‘good fellowship’ in the trade was worth ten shillings a ton.⁵

The entrepreneur was not, that is to say, operating in an anonymous world. Nor, on the whole, for all its difficulties, was it an unfriendly world. An observer trying to explain the rapid growth of the British economy in 1800 ascribed it to the improvements in public utilities and cost-reducing inventions applied in industry. To greater output and better quality was due ‘the universally increasing demand’ for British goods. But, he added significantly, ‘All these advantages she owes to her social system, which gives equal respectability to trade and equal security to the capital invested in it.’⁶ The tradition had deep roots: Thomas Deloney, the Elizabethan writer, remarked ‘the younger sons of knights and gentlemen, to whom their fathers would leave no lands, were most commonly preferred to learn this trade [cloth making] to the end that thereby they might live in good estate and drive forth their days in prosperity’.⁷ But in the early eighteenth century Defoe noted that the social stream ran in both directions and ‘many of the great families who now pass for gentry in the Western counties have been originally raised from and built up by this truly noble manufacture’.⁸

Such was the background to what Dr. Johnson called ‘an age of innovation’, and such are a few of the limits and circumstances, local and special, which must be borne in mind as the particular context within which the entrepreneur of the industrial revolution worked. The

⁵ Charles Wilson, *History of Unilever*, 1954, i. 70.

⁶ Henry Beeke, *Observations on the Produce of the Income Tax . . . including important facts respecting the extent, wealth, and population of this kingdom*, 1799.

⁷ Eileen Power, *Medieval People*, 1937, p. 155.

⁸ *Ibid.* p. 147.

nature of the entrepreneur's function has been defined shortly by Professor Cole⁹ as 'the utilization by one productive factor of the other productive factors for the creation of economic goods': the motive or result being an increase of profit or efficiency, or an accession or shift of personal power, or the growth or survival of the business as a unit. Enough evidence is readily available to suggest that this definition may well suggest new modes of enquiry into the industrial revolution. As Mantoux pointed out in his classic study, the great figures of the movement made their reputations as *organizers*.¹⁰ Their distinctive characteristic was that they fulfilled in one person the functions of capitalist, financier, works manager, merchant and salesman. Here was 'a new pattern of the complete business man'.¹¹ So much is common knowledge: we usually assume that such men, though far from common, were responsible for changing the climate of opinion amongst the manufacturing class as a whole. Yet, oddly enough, there has been relatively little attempt to bond their total function into the economic context. A dozen biographers from Samuel Smiles onward have rendered tribute to Wedgwood, Boulton and many others. Yet Wedgwood's fame rests largely on his application of the principle of division of labour. Boulton is famous for his association with and promotion of Watt and his invention. So with the others. Yet further survey of the field of their labours prompts the question whether here, as so often in history, we are not allowing our eye to be attracted by the spectacular difference, while ignoring the common quality shared by all these great entrepreneurs and not for that reason of less significance but perhaps more. If too rigid a pattern is not to be imposed on the bewildering variety of circumstances, our sense of this common characteristic must be kept as general as possible. I should define it thus: *a sense of market opportunity combined with the capacity needed to exploit it*. The conventional accounts of change have in reality concentrated so much on the exploitation of opportunity as to obscure the nature of the opportunity itself. The fact that Wilkinson was the best and most reliable borer of cylinders in England is no doubt a technical fact of some importance, as is the fact that Hargreaves' jenny could spin eighty threads at once. Yet economically such facts are quite useless unless it is explained why the accurate boring of cylinders or the greater output of yarn was not only necessary but seen by some men 'of wit and resource' to be necessary and potentially profitable.

Before entering on a more detailed enquiry into the function of the later entrepreneur it is necessary to consider how far research in recent years may have modified Mantoux's conception of him as 'a new man'. Professor Carus Wilson has shown how wide were the ramifications of commercial capital in medieval industry and how strong the ties by which the artisans were bound to the masters, not only in England

⁹ Lane and Riemersma, *Enterprise and Secular Change*, 1953, pp. 183-4.

¹⁰ Mantoux, *The Industrial Revolution in the 18th Century*, 1928, p. 382.

¹¹ *Ibid.*

but in Flanders and Italy.¹² Jean Boine Broke, the great *drapier* of Douai, Henry Houhil of Leicester, or the *lanaiuoli* of Florence all in a greater or lesser degree intervened in the various phases of woollen manufacture, from the purchase of raw material to the sale of the finished product, exercising a varying degree of control. How 'typical' this type of centrally controlled (but geographically dispersed) organization was, it is difficult to say. What is clear is that in the urban industries of Continental Europe entrepreneurial control was nowhere complete: and it was everywhere supplemented (and in another sense limited) by *corporate* regulation through the guilds. Matters of quality in particular were supervised to a very large extent by guild ordinance—a necessity which suggests that the physical control exercised by the entrepreneur may not have been adequate to achieve the desired ends. And it is worth noting that in the textile industries of Leiden in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, a very considerable degree of entrepreneurial supervision had to be supplemented by corporate regulation.¹³

In these respects the later medieval English cloth industry presented some unique features. Developing as it did away from the old cities, in the small market towns and countryside, it demonstrated a degree of experiment not found elsewhere, and notably a greater degree of mechanization. Normally the function of the big clothier entrepreneur was restricted to a general managerial supervision of an organization partially concentrated—as regards dyeing and finishing—and partially spread—spinning and weaving. But again, supervision was the fundamental problem. In both the West Country and East Anglia therefore there are to be found clothiers who closely resemble the later entrepreneurs of the industrial revolution. The figure of the famous Jack of Newbury who was alleged to put over a thousand artisans to work on his own premises remains shrouded in legend. Stumpe, who converted Malmesbury Abbey after the Dissolution into a cloth factory, is better attested. Likewise, at the Essex village of Coggeshall, where the Paycocke family established 'the truly noble manufacture' of cloth, Thomas may well have gathered some of his weavers and other workers under his own roof. That the practice was on the increase may be seen from the petitions of the independent weavers against clothiers who kept weavers and fullers in their own houses and agreed on a single price for the same job.¹⁴

These seem to be phenomena of a rural industry, freed from the restraints and controls of urban corporate bodies, by which quality had been achieved and maintained. In the absence of such regulations, the tendency for the entrepreneur to secure the needs of his market through a greater degree of centralized control and even physical concentration

¹² *Cambridge Economic History of Europe*, Vol. II, Ch. VI, *passim*.

¹³ N. W. Posthumus, *De Geschiedenis van de Leidsche Lakenindustrie*, Vol. III, Ch. 1.

¹⁴ Power, *Medieval People*, p. 157.

of industry would be strong. Yet we must ask with Clapham the fundamental questions: how large? how long? how often? how representative? And the answer must be that these were swallows that did not make a summer. The typical system everywhere remained the dispersed out-work system, in which entrepreneurial intervention and control was partial and uneven. The reason may well lie in the nature of the product and the market. Until well into the eighteenth century a considerable proportion of woollen manufacture consisted of semi-finished or unfinished cloth, exported in the white. The point at which supervision was most vital—the finishing processes—was beyond the purview of many clothiers and it is significant that those who included it in their operations often owned the necessary plant and operated it under their own control. As for the market, it is perhaps reasonable to suppose that a predominantly rural society would probably remain content with a fairly stable type of commodity.¹⁵ Manufacturing industry, up to the industrial revolution, was rarely more than half-way between the peasant industry, that catered for its own needs, and the commercial manufacture that must take heed for the discerning customer.

It seems not unreasonable to assume therefore that the problems of manufacture, both as regards quantity production and quality production, though by no means negligible, were a good deal less formidable than they were to become with the growth of more sophisticated urban markets in a later age. In so far as pressing problems existed in these respects, the solution was provided by varying types of organization within which the individual entrepreneur, corporate industrial bodies, and municipal and national governments shared responsibility for the control of production and sale. Viewing the bewildering range of processes and what later observers came to regard as the waste of effort, time and money involved in the carriage of materials and supervision, one is inclined to wonder whether, as a system catering for a market, this can have been anything but a gamble in respect of quality, quantity or price. Yet, given the relatively slow movements of population, taste and demand it seems somehow to have functioned. And the entrepreneur whose ingenuities were exercised by its problems represents no less an advance on the earlier wool merchant (whose function was that of buying and selling an unchanged commodity, and arranging its transport and economic time of sale) than the complex cloth industry represents over the earlier wool trade.

‘To study the entrepreneur’, Professor Cole has written, ‘is to study the central figure in modern economic history and to my way of thinking, the central figure in economics.’¹⁶ Certainly a legitimate approach to modern economic history might be to trace the development from Paycocke to Horrockses: from the slow gathering of control over the

¹⁵ Such notable innovations as did occur (e.g. the New Draperies) were invariably introduced from more advanced economies, such as that of the Low Countries, and operated initially by immigrants from those areas.

¹⁶ Lane and Riemersma, *Enterprise and Secular Change*, p. 187.

different processes within a single industry to that outward seeking after control not merely of one industry but of the ancillary industries and processes on which the so-called 'central' manufacture depends—in short to the vertical combine in which modern industrial development has reached (some might say, passed) its peak of self-fulfilment.

If we narrow our focus, for the moment, to the textile industries of Britain in the period of revolution, certain general features of change will be seen to emerge. First, for nearly a century before industry itself was revolutionized by the new technology, there had proceeded an expansion of markets which, though small in relation to what was to follow, was very large indeed by comparison with what had gone before. The 'official' value of British exports in 1760 was twice that of 1700 and nearly eight times that of 1660, and though the proportionate importance of cloth declined steadily, its actual value rose rapidly. It remained till 1802 the most valuable single export: this moreover in a period when the price revolution is no longer available as a convenient *deus ex machina* in the historian's apparatus of analysis and explanation. The falling rate of interest was certainly an important factor in expansion: but it seems to me to have been rather in the nature of an enabling condition for those prepared to take advantage of it. It did not prevent the decline and virtual extinction of well-established industries in some areas. It is, however, not merely an expansion of production, linked no doubt to an increase of population, fundamental developments in public finance, and better facilities for transport, that is significant. There is besides a marked shift of emphasis in the nature of the articles produced, and a new phase of interregional competition for market supremacy. In this battle—and especially in the battle for exports—the East Anglian industry slowly overcame the weakening resistance of the West, only to be overwhelmed in turn by the ingenuity and assiduity of the Yorkshire industry.¹⁷

The movement away from the older heavier woollens to lighter and brighter worsteds (extended later in the growth of demand for printed calicoes and cottons) clearly represents a phase of social and economic change: in this the development of an urban middle-class demand and the growth of tropical and semi-tropical exports were to combine. Sir John Elwill, a great Exeter cloth merchant, wrote in 1714 to a Dutch client that the manufacture of 'mixt Serges' was declining and would 'never flourish as heretofore'. The reason was that they were 'not worn by Many Sort of People as formerly': but 'Some new sorts of Drapery were invented . . . which are used by many that formerly used Serge'.¹⁸

¹⁷ The reputation of the Gloucestershire industry under the leadership of the famous 'gentleman-clothiers' remained high until the nineteenth century and was in some ways a model from which Yorkshire learned much. But though it seems to have been more responsive and flexible than the Devonshire industry, evidence is not lacking of unusual difficulties by the late eighteenth century.

¹⁸ Charles Wilson, *Anglo-Dutch Commerce and Finance in the Eighteenth Century*, p. 37. For the West Country industry, see also W. G. Hoskins, *Industry, Trade and People in Exeter 1688-1800*, 1935.

Yet the West was to fail utterly in the struggle for the market in the new cloths and it is not altogether fanciful to seek part of the explanation of her failure in the relative weakness of the link between manufacturer and merchant. In Devonshire, the two functions were often separate: in Norwich and Yorkshire they were often combined. After a brief glory, Norwich gave way to Yorkshire, where the link was most strong. There, by the end of the eighteenth century, as Professor Heaton has shown, 'many merchants had gained absolute control over production by becoming manufacturers themselves'.¹⁹ Merchant and manufacturer were united in one person and a term was put to the friction between the former, who alone knew what the customer would buy, and the latter, who was often more interested in persuading the merchant to take what he had always made. Equally there is evidence here of the commercial sense of the industrialists which is less evident elsewhere. Professor Heaton has shown us the indefatigable Sam Hill, toiling and sweating to imitate the latest worsteds from Norwich and ending triumphantly on a note of pushful confidence that defied contemporary depression and becomes enterprise personified. 'I think it now evident these manufactories . . . will come in spite of fate into these northern Countries.'²⁰

It is difficult not to see a relationship between the growth of the worsted market (which by the 1770's was on the point of overtaking the older production of woollens) and the change in industrial organization which brought carding, slubbing, spinning, and in some cases finishing and dyeing—but not yet weaving—into the factory between 1790 and 1825. These developments in technology and industrial organization fill in the framework sketched by Mantoux: it was the continental demand for English worsted which enabled the enterprising clothier to profit from circumstances.²¹ A petition from the weavers presented to the House of Commons in 1794 spoke of the large numbers of merchants who were turning clothiers, especially in and near Leeds and Halifax, setting up large factories for making woollen cloth.²²

It must be evident that the most progressive of these men who were to set the pattern for future development owed as much to their grasp of commercial opportunity as they did to their capacity to apply and develop the new inventions. Benjamin Gott, the first of the great Leeds spinners, was a merchant whose mind turned first to the nature of demand and secondly to the means of satisfying it. His most important innovations were the application of new chemical techniques to the vital finishing and dyeing sections of the cloth-making process. Here thousands of pounds and infinite patience were expended in developing an industrial process scientifically controlled throughout.²³ In the early nineteenth century the process of concentration can be taken a step further in the worsted business of William Foster at Queensbury, then

¹⁹ H. Heaton, *Yorkshire Woollen and Worsted Industry*, p. 388.

²⁰ *Ibid.* p. 270.

²¹ Mantoux, p. 106.

²² *Ibid.* p. 272.

²³ A. and N. Clow, *The Chemical Revolution*, pp. 220-1.

a small village half-way between Bradford and Halifax. In his own lifetime the founder saw his industry change from a domestic affair into one where all the numerous processes were comprised and controlled within Foster's own factories. The special feature of Foster's, however, was their development of high-grade fabrics for dresses from mohair and alpaca. These, his Victorian biographer tells us, 'were dispersed over all the countries of the world, lending new charms to female loveliness wherever they are seen, whether it be to form a chastely flowing garment for an Eastern beauty, or to adorn the figure of the most fashionably attired Parisian belle'.²⁴ And at this point we may watch the vital transition from market sense to advertisement proper. For faced by the wiles of the Paris fashion-dictators Foster decided to invoke the aid of an aristocratic beauty, the Countess of Bective, in support of a patriotic movement in female fashions. What became known as the Bective movement was in fact the first essay in what was later to become a regular feature of advertising: the ingenious exploitation of snob appeal.²⁵ The Countess of Bective must go into the history of industrial change as clearly as the spinning jenny. For the charms of aristocratic beauty were to be no less an instrument to the hand of the entrepreneur than the steam loom itself.

That invention and organization were intimately related to possibilities and changes in demand is no less clear from the history of cotton than from that of wool. The eighteenth century yielded nothing to the twentieth in the extravagance and caprice of its tastes and fashions in clothing. Within a matter of months a fad would take hold which called for immediate response, which was not possible without the most flexible commercial and industrial organization. It was presumably through such a series of changes that the great markets for Lancashire goods were built up. The general trend in Europe at any rate was an extension of the demand for lighter, finer fabrics and in particular for fabrics which imitated the qualities of those previously imported from the East. The ingenuity of the entrepreneurs who seized this opportunity to develop a local imitative industry has been traced by Wadsworth and Mann,²⁶ and their application of chemical knowledge to their production problems by Mr. and Mrs. Clow.²⁷ Thus behind the staggering increase in Lancashire exports to Europe—from practically nothing in 1750 to £218,000 by 1770—lies the story of the experiments in dyeing by John Wilson of Ainsworth (near Manchester) and others. Most of the increase was accounted for by cotton velvets and checks. The correspondence of Samuel Oldknow with his London agents about this time brings out

²⁴ *Fortunes Made in Business* (by various writers), 1884, Vol. II, p. 32. This is a relatively unused work. No indication of the authorship is given but many of the biographies are written with shrewdness and perception. The collection was apparently well known to Alfred Marshall, who drew on it for evidence to support a number of conclusions in his *Principles*. Mantoux likewise knew of it, but otherwise it has been much neglected.

²⁵ *Ibid.* ii. 49–50.

²⁶ *The Cotton Trade and Industrial Lancashire*, Book 2.

²⁷ *The Chemical Revolution*.

clearly the relationship between markets and manufacturer. The manufacturers were advised which types of fabric were a poor sale and should be dropped, which sold well and should be developed. 'We want as many spotted muslins and fancy muslins as you can make, the finer the better. . . . You must give a look to Invention, industry you have in abundance. We expect to hear from you as often as possible and as the sun shines let us make the Hay.' And later: 'We rather wish you to drop the Sattinets, they are not new here and only fit for 2 months sale. The Buff stripes are liked best but still do not pursue it, turn the loom to something else. They are not fine enough for People of Fashion, for which they are only calculated for . . . try your skill at Table Linen. . . . Arkwright must lower his Twist and he must spin finer, tell him the reputation of our Country against Scotland is at stake'.²⁸ The pressures of the market and competition were bearing in on the industrialist from every direction. What came to be a widespread muslin industry in Lancashire and Scotland depended on the ability of the mule to produce a thread even finer than the best hand-spun yarn from India. Only with the water-frame could English calico weavers compete with Indian calicoes. Only the water-frames of Arkwright's mill at Derby could produce the strong thread for Strutt's specialty—the ribbed stocking.²⁹ And so on.

It is evident that if manufacturers were to be able to rise to these exacting occasions their control of the productive process must be firm and flexible. Herein lies, it seems to me, one of the most important facts behind the movement to include all the several processes of manufacture—spinning, weaving, dyeing, finishing—under the control of a single entrepreneur, which according to Professor Ashton was developing by 1820.³⁰ It was illustrated most strikingly in the development of Horrockses of Preston where the whole process from sorting out American and Egyptian cotton bales down to despatching their special finished cotton products—sheetings, shirtings and long cloths—to merchants at home and abroad was gathered into one organization by the 1830's.³¹

It was as true of other industries producing consumer goods as of wool and cotton that the entrepreneur's first effort had to be concentrated on innovation and organization designed not merely for quantity production but for quality appropriate to the existing or potential demand. What an observer said of Crossleys, the great carpet makers of Halifax, might have been said of many others. 'No amount of cheapening of production would have availed them anything if they had not also been able to take the lead in the beauty and originality of their designs.'³² The best-known achievement of Josiah Wedgwood, one of the classical entrepreneurs of English industrial history, was to found his factory *Etruria* on the principle of division of labour. But mass production in

²⁸ G. Unwin, *S. Oldknow and the Arkwrights*, pp. 62-5.

²⁹ Mantoux, pp. 228 and 243.

³⁰ Ashton, *The Industrial Revolution*, p. 75.

³¹ *Fortunes Made in Business*, iii. 1-31.

³² *Ibid.* iii. 304-5.

vacuo might well have been a failure, even given the growing demand for crockery from which to drink coffee and tea, had it not been combined with a shrewd perception of the contemporary appeal of pseudo-classical designs. Having provided all Europe with table china his commercial imagination was by no means exhausted and in the late 1770's he wrote of his intention to develop a new line of manufacture—'earthen water pipes, for London first, and then for all the world'.³³ His later rival, Herbert Minton at Stoke on Trent, had no less sharp an eye for a profitable line. He regularly embarked on long tours of Europe in search of new technical ideas and the famous 'English Majolica' sprang from a chance observation at Rouen of 'some common flower pots, with a green opaque glaze' which, he guessed, might sell well if improved.³⁴

Perception of a small but important need in an expanding commercial society—the steel pen—led Josiah Mason to establish a factory at Birmingham which became the largest of its kind in the world. Mason was not himself an inventor but he had (as his biographer observed) a 'quickness in seizing a new idea, sagacity in realizing its possibilities of development and courage in bringing it within range of practical application'. It was these qualities which later attracted his attention to the invention of electro-plating and its usefulness in the manufacture of cheap table ornaments and spoons and forks, '. . . knowing, as he shrewdly said, that the reputation as well as the solid profit of the enterprise must rest upon articles capable of being made by the hundred thousand and requisite for common household use'.³⁵ Much later, in the 1880's, a similar perception that a new type of customer, the working-class housewife, 'clean, saving and thrifty', was available, led William Lever to launch a patent 'washer' soap with qualities which had a special appeal to this type of user. Backed by every kind of advertising—mostly borrowed from North America—he built up in less than twenty years a business which surpassed in scope and size all other British competitors.³⁶

The qualities and capacities which have been stressed in the entrepreneur are most clearly discernible in those industries and trades producing goods for a wide range of consumers. Yet it would be rash to assume that they were less important in industries like the iron industry, an important part of which—and that most swiftly revolutionized—manufactured capital goods or munitions. In the course of the eighteenth century an industry which was splintered into a vast number of small separate enterprises—furnaces, forges and slitting mills—became increasingly concentrated in large 'integrated' establishments in which all those processes from the mining of the ore down to the delivery of cannon mortars, bombs, cannonades, boilers, mill-gear and the like were carried out. The great iron masters like Richard Crawshaw, Anthony Bacon and John Roebuck, though their market may have been less

³³ Mantoux, p. 395.

³⁵ *Ibid.* iii. 151.

³⁴ *Fortunes Made in Business*, iii. 78-9.

³⁶ Wilson, *History of Unilever*, vol. I, Ch. III.

capricious in some ways than those for which the textile makers catered, had their own problems of quality which could only be mastered by trial and error, in a concern where (as a French visitor to the Carron works noted) 'everything is arranged and carried on with exact precision and nothing is left to mere routine or chance'.³⁷ The quality of iron used in making an iron railing would be different from that suitable for making a horse-shoe or a cart-wheel. Not the least of the problems of an industry in which vast amounts of capital had to be sunk was the uncertain character of its wartime market. It needed the passionate, single-minded, almost ludicrous faith of a John Wilkinson in his product, to transfer the new material to peacetime use, not only in bridges, ships, and cast-iron pipes for public water supply but in numerous more or less suitable architectural uses. The story of the partnership between the iron masters and those architects of the Gothic Revival who sent clustering columns and high traceried windows soaring up in cast iron in hundreds of fashionable buildings has yet to be told. But it could hardly fail to record remarkable enterprise.

Similarly, if a point had to be chosen from which Bessemer's later invention sprang it might well be the day in France when he, knowing little at the time of iron metallurgy, saw that the type of iron used in gun-making left much to be desired. Likewise John Brown of Sheffield, to whose faith in steel Bessemer owed an incalculable debt, owed his own fame to his vision of the railway system. 'He saw boundless demand in this new adjunct of civilization.' And he thrust his invention of the conical spring buffer (1848) on the railway companies, bullied the doubting Admiralty into adopting iron plates and cajoled the railways into adopting steel rails by distributing free samples.

The drift of these detailed enquiries seems to me to be clear: it is the tendency, powerful, yet in the period of industrial revolution far from ubiquitous, for the entrepreneur's intervention in certain important fields of industry to widen into an all-embracing function. This was necessary, it seems to me, if stability of costs, assured production in point of quantity or quality, and the requisite flexibility with regard to markets was to be achieved. A detailed examination of those markets suggests that it is misleading to consider the industrial revolution (as many text books do) merely in terms of undifferentiated commodities called cotton or woollens or iron. Such a treatment obscures the fundamental fact that the need to be met was for highly specific versions of such general categories of commodities and the relation between this fact and the consequential changes in industrial organization. It might be argued that in the last analysis it was a commercial flair that was basic. 'The tradesman', as an eighteenth-century writer put it, 'stands at the head of the manufacturer'.³⁸ Or as a later German historian wrote: 'Every commercial capitalist, whether he understands the technical side

³⁷ B. F. de St. Fond, *Travels in England and Scotland*, 1784, p. 187.

³⁸ W. Hutton, *History of Birmingham*, 1795, p. 98.

of his business or not, is always a trader. It is trade which decides what commodities shall be produced, where they shall be produced and how they shall be produced.' ³⁹ And perhaps the classic instance of the captain of industry who owed his success to his commercial gifts as much as anything was Boulton, who dared to risk financing Watt because, as Mantoux has said: 'He was a bold and clever trader versed in the needs and possibilities of the market.'⁴⁰ The fact that the lineage of many of the new entrepreneurs may be traced through generations of yeomen or artisans does not necessarily damage the claims such a theory may have to our consideration.

Much ink has been spilt in attempts to identify the sources from whence came the entrepreneurs and the capital they disposed. Yet the evidence remains too flimsy and incomplete to conclude with confidence more than this: that they came from every social source and every area. A great landowner like the Duke of Bridgewater created new forms of transport; merchants came to make the things they had previously only sold, scientists turned into industrialists, parsons into inventors, small farmers and weavers became captains of industry. Arkwright was a barber, Samuel Walker of Rotherham turned from schoolmastering to become a great iron master. The capital required likewise came from a variety of sources. In many enterprises, from those of the early entrepreneurs down to those of the last of the line, personal saving played a great part. The great iron business of Walkers at Rotherham rose in the 1740's largely on capital amassed from ploughed back profits.⁴¹ And in the 1890's William Lever was making £50,000 a year, living modestly on £400 a year and with the remainder creating and purchasing his own Ordinary Shares.⁴² In yet other instances, capital was raised by means of partnership deeds and mortgages while short-term funds came from the banks. Only great public enterprises—turn-pikes, canals, docks and the like—were public companies drawing on a national capital market. For the rest, investment was, and often long remained, local and even sectarian.

The brakes which early centuries had placed on the economic freedom of the entrepreneur—the restrictive and paternal legislation of guilds, municipalities and states—had largely disappeared from the world of Boulton and Watt. Even in the 1730's the poet's theme was already a philosophy which seemed eminently suitable to the entrepreneur:

That REASON, PASSION, answer one great aim;
That true SELF-LOVE and SOCIAL are the same. . . .⁴³

Thus long before economic freedom became rationalized and systematized into a doctrine, the climate of opinion was becoming favourable

³⁹ A. Held, *Zwei Bücher zur sozialen Geschichte Englands*, 1881, p. 566.

⁴⁰ Mantoux, pp. 106-7.

⁴¹ Ashton, *The Industrial Revolution*, p. 97.

⁴² Wilson, *History of Unilever*, i. 48.

⁴³ Pope, *Essay on Man*.

to its practical development. An attempt in 1690 to set up an *omnibus* 'Guild or Fraternity' under the control of the Leeds Corporation for controlling cloth-working was recognized by 1720 to be a dead letter 'by long disuse and failure'.⁴⁴ Companies of this type—and they were tried in many places—could not exercise effective supervision over materials, workmanship, hours, wages and quality, which in the Middle Ages had been partially controlled by specialized guilds, partially by the entrepreneurs. Apprenticeship and supervision of wage rates by the Justices of the Peace were likewise falling into desuetude in the century before the industrial revolution proper began. The idea of regulation persisted very much longer in regard to external trade. The cotton industry grew up behind the shelter of the Calico Act (1721), designed to protect the woollen industries from India silks, and it was not until a century or more after the nominal date usually assigned to the beginning of industrial revolution (1760) that all the remains of the old mercantilist system were finally swept away. At Manchester, where ideas of economic freedom were most strongly developed, sectional opposition, obstinate and prolonged, was still evoked by proposals to export textile machinery. Even here, however, there are signs in the eighteenth century that the demand of entrepreneurs for adequate supplies of cheap materials was raising up a strong body of opposition to the monopolies of the great importing companies which had long formed an integral part of the old system.

On the whole, the entrepreneur was empirical in his economic views. The nearest thing to a general economic philosophy evolved in the transitional stage from the mercantile system to the full doctrine of *laissez-faire* was probably enshrined in the sub-title to Mandeville's *Fable of the Bees* (1714). It ran 'Private Vices, Public Benefits'. This economic application of Pope's equation of self-love and social welfare was frequently elaborated by popular philosophers like Dr. Johnson and others. The 'evil of luxury', said Johnson, was one of those false things 'transmitted from book to book'. The truth was that luxury produced much good: the expense went to the industrious poor and the demand gave rise to 'so much general productive exertion' that it could not fail to be beneficial. In short, here is the beginning of a philosophical divorce between ethics and economic doctrine. It remained, nevertheless, far from complete so far as the entrepreneur was concerned.⁴⁵ It may be, as some have attempted to show, that the new capitalism was relatively free from social controls and rested on a theoretical basis of the operation of natural law rather than on a system voluntarily developed by men.⁴⁶ Yet those who saw much virtue in the operations of the Hidden Hand, and no doubt with good reason, often acted in practice in ways which denied its claim to be the sole regulator of

⁴⁴ Clapham, *A Concise Economic History of Britain*, p. 254.

⁴⁵ Johnson himself could not follow Mandeville in accepting the divorce: the *happiness* of society 'depended on virtue'.

⁴⁶ See, for example, V. A. Demant, *Religion and the Decline of Capitalism*, 1952.

human affairs. As E. H. Carr has observed: '... the ingrained and irrational habits of personal abstinence and public service ... played a more important part in building up the *laissez-faire* and liberal society of the nineteenth century than the rational morality of the harmony of interests'.⁴⁷ Even Adam Smith's economic man was to act within the limits of justice and self-command, restrained by the quality of 'sympathy' which was an integral part of man's nature. 'When Mrs. Crossley entered her works at 4 a.m. she made a daily vow: "If the Lord does bless us at this place, the poor shall taste of it." And she left this advice with her sons on the conduct of business in bad times: "If you can go on giving employment in the winter, do so, for it is a bad thing for a working man to go home and hear his children cry for bread when he has none to give them."'

Humanitarian and Fabian preconceptions in our writing of economic and social history have tended to obscure the existence of an older tradition of philanthropy and welfare that runs like a continuous thread through the operations of the greatest of the entrepreneurs. Plans for the welfare of adult workers and the care and education of child labour were not a monopoly of Robert Owen. Boulton and Wedgwood were not only cultivated men but just employers who regarded a humane code of labour relations as an efficient system of production and gave a lead to others in such matters as the provision of schemes of social welfare and education. They were imitated by scores of others; so that even in the 1850's, when elementary education was a recognized public charge, Price's Patent Candleworks were still running an elaborate and expensive set of schools for their boy and girl employees at Battersea. Early Victorian England was for many a hard and cheerless world: but there seems at the moment to be less danger of exaggerating the sense of responsibility that the best entrepreneurs possessed than of assuming that their outlook was typified by the worst. The age of domestic industry was not the Golden Age it once seemed, nor was the factory town exclusively a society of juvenile chimney sweeps and cadaverous spinning elves.

The leading entrepreneurs may well turn out to have a just claim to rank high amongst those who not only swept and garnished their own houses but initiated a national process of social amelioration in an age facing insuperable problems of social adjustment. Some of the most vigorous social reformers, like Robert Peel, Samuel Whitbread, and Harriet Martineau, came from this class and the tradition lasted down to the enlightened capitalists of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries like the Levers and the Cadburys with their new housing schemes. It was not merely their own success but their palpable contribution to material national well-being and their consciousness of social responsibility which drew to them popular esteem and social

⁴⁷ E. H. Carr, *The Conditions of Peace*, 1942, Ch. V. The point is discussed at length in Charles Wilson, 'Canon Demant's Economic History', *Cambridge Journal*, February 1953.

prestige. They were associated by partnerships and friendships with the nobility.⁴⁸ Wedgwood and Boulton joined in business enterprises with Lord Stamford, Lord Grey, Lord Gower, the Duke of Bridgewater, Lord Anson, Lord Cathcart and Lord Talbot. In Scotland Lord Dundas and Lord Dundonald were far from negligible figures in the movement to apply chemical knowledge to industry. In South Wales Lady Charlotte Guest, the daughter of the eighth Earl of Lindsey, played no small part in managing the great Dowlais iron works of her husband. Royalty itself made a point of conferring its patronage and interest. George III and his Queen several times received Boulton and in 1787 the Royal visitors were received at Whitbread's great brewery at Chiswell Street, where half an hour out of a two-hour visit was spent examining the steam engine recently supplied by Boulton: '... in which it was apparent this was not the first half-hour thus usefully employed on economic arts, for His Majesty, with becoming science, explained to the Queen and the Princesses the leading movements in the machinery'.⁴⁹ The entrepreneurs and their new industries had become a matter for high favour and national pride.

The generally favourable conditions thus described did not however prevent the innovators from running into problems and rigidities in the contemporary economy. Of serious shortage of capital we hear strangely little: presumably the traditions of thrift and mutual confidence deep rooted in a commercial and often dissenting society worked to the advantage of the entrepreneur, leaving him only the lesser though not unimportant problems of temporary shortages of working capital and a defective coinage. This latter led many employers to issue token coins or 'shopnotes' convertible (theoretically) into cash by shopkeepers, or to resort to truck payments. To obtain a factory labour supply was more difficult. Dr. Ure noted that it was 'nearly impossible to convert persons past the age of puberty, whether drawn from rural or handicraft occupations, into useful factory hands'.⁵⁰ The need was supplied by the new millions of children who quickly acquired the new manual skills. It was longer before the problems of skilled supervision were solved, but slowly a code of discipline and organization was shaped to match the productive process itself. Managers and foremen emerged, schemes for piece rates and bonuses were devised, with fines for drunkenness, carelessness and idling.

Such problems have received less attention than those posed by the attacks made on the new industrial system. Those who employed physical violence in machine-breaking and the like—the Luddites who smashed stocking frames and power looms and the unemployed handloom weavers who met at Peterloo—have had their story told many times. Their ranks were filled from the workers whom the new technology left on the scrap-heap. But scarcely less important, and

⁴⁸ See Mantoux, p. 406, n. 1.

⁴⁹ *London Chronicle*, May 1787.

⁵⁰ Quoted in Ashton, *The Industrial Revolution*, p. 116.

continuous rather than spasmodic, was the growing power of organized labour. Trade Clubs and Unions in the guise of friendly societies are found everywhere in the eighteenth century. By 1800 when an Act made it generally illegal for any person to join with another to obtain increased wages or reduced hours of work, there were already many Acts on the Statute Book forbidding such practices in individual industries. But the new Act, like its predecessors, seems to have had little effect. Employers, then as now, had to reckon with much organized interest and natural conservatism; so that when William Fairbairn, the founder of the great Fairbairn Engineering business of Manchester and Leeds, first came to London in 1811 as an almost penniless lad seeking work with Rennie, then building Waterloo Bridge, he found the trade unions were masters of the situation. 'I had no difficulty in finding employment; but before I could begin work I had to run the gauntlet of the trade societies; and after dancing attendance for nearly six weeks, with very little money in my pocket . . . I was ultimately declared illegitimate and sent adrift to seek my fortune elsewhere.'⁵¹

Scarcely less obstructive were the activities of those who saw their own interests being affected by the innovators. The small manufacturers threatened by Arkwright's improved production invoked doubtful legislation against him, but when he had won this battle there ensued a series of others, against rival inventors and producers who challenged the validity of his patents. All in all Arkwright, a litigious customer admittedly, spent a not inconsiderable part of his time, energies and capital in Parliamentary and Court actions on such accounts. Boulton likewise had to petition Parliament to extend the rights for his engine in face of Burke, who protested in the name of liberty against this new monopoly. And like Arkwright, he and Watt were engaged in interminable law suits against users of the engine (like the Cornish copper mine owners) and rival Soho manufacturers to protect their rights.⁵²

The way of the innovator though theoretically cleared for him at many points was thus far from smooth; yet so strongly was the tide running with him and so remarkable was the combination of qualities which, at his best, he evinced, that opposition of the kind adumbrated—partial, sectional, but on the whole ill-organized—did little to check the swift growth of his enterprise. He did not yet control, nor was he ever to control, the whole of the economic process. Yet where he did, his grasp was hard to shake. Men of this kind came to speak with a new tone of authority—new because they were exercising a new and comprehensive kind of economic control, capable of indefinite extension. Lifted on to the plane of philosophy, his voice became what Victorian England recognized, rightly or wrongly, as the voice of progress. ' . . . he knew', the historian of early Victorian England has written, 'that in the essential business of humanity, the mastery of brute nature by intelligence, he had outstripped the world, and the Machine was the

⁵¹ *Fortunes Made in Business*, ii, 243.

⁵² See Mantoux, chs. II and IV.

emblem and instrument of his triumph. The patriotism of early Victorian England . . . was at heart a pride in human capacity, which time had led to fruition in England. . . .'⁵³ It is difficult—impossible I would say—to understand the momentum behind the process unless it is realized that Arkwright, Boulton, Wedgwood and the rest shared with the ferocity of enthusiasm in a faith which they managed to raise to the status of a sort of *Zeitgeist*; a faith which was finally enshrined in the historical philosophy of the most honoured child of the age, Macaulay. The opportunity to direct such a large part of the economic and social process brought forth both good and evil. On the whole the best among them rose to their responsibilities. Their motives swiftly came to outrun the mere desire for profit. At worst their passion might degenerate into a desire for personal power: but it often remained a genuine delight in quality for those who bought from them—perhaps even for its own sake—and a better life for their work-people. 'I don't work at business,' a later one cast in the same mould wrote, 'only for the sake of money. I am not a lover of money as money and never have been. I work at business because business is life. It enables me to do things.'⁵⁴ It was the enlarged scope which the new type of business organization offered for 'doing things' which perhaps helps to explain the character of those who did them.

⁵³ G. M. Young, *Portrait of An Age*, p. 8.

⁵⁴ Wilson, *History of Unilever*, i. 187.

HITLER AND HIS FOREIGN MINISTRY 1937-1939

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IT IS ONLY SELDOM that the spade is of any use to the historian of contemporary affairs. But when in May 1945 a German civilian directed two sceptical G.I.s to a spot on an estate in Thuringia and urged them to dig, the result was a find of the greatest importance for the assessment of the foreign policy of the Third Reich.¹ The rolls of microfilm which they unearthed were the sole evidence in the hands of the western Allies of the contents of the secret files of Ribbentrop's private office (*Büro Ram*). They amounted to about 10,000 pages and included accounts of many of the conversations which Hitler and Ribbentrop had held with foreign statesmen between 1938 and 1944.

But for this discovery, which was supplemented shortly afterwards by the finding of some personal files belonging to Hitler's interpreter, Paul Otto Schmidt, it would have been impossible to present a coherent account of Hitler's foreign policy. A decisive phase in the decline of western Europe from the political pre-eminence it had enjoyed during the previous 400 years could not have been fully told. The German foreign ministry files, despite their bulk and the large number of copies which were usually made of each document, contain gaps, especially after the appointment of Ribbentrop as foreign minister on 4 February 1938. Too often a series of papers leads up to an important decision or interview and then breaks off. The record of the interview itself was secreted in Ribbentrop's private office and thus has survived only on the microfilm. In studying the documents of the Wilhelmstrasse one often has to consider whether a particular paper was ever seen by the officials who were supposed to be dealing with the topic.

The gaps in the foreign ministry files imply a certain lack of control over policy. They tend to confirm the statement of Weizsäcker, the head of the permanent staff of the foreign ministry from April 1938 to April 1943, that by 1936 the foreign ministry was ceasing to be policy-

¹ A detailed account of the discovery of the documents was given by K. H. M. Duke in a broadcast on 26 October 1949. See also the general introduction to *Documents on German Foreign Policy, 1918-1945, Series D*, London: H.M.S.O. 1945-56 (cited hereafter as *German Documents*).

making and becoming confined to executive functions.² The present writer might be inclined to put the decisive change later, after the removal of Neurath as foreign minister, but even in 1936 major decisions of foreign policy such as the intervention in the Spanish Civil War, or the signature of the Anti-Comintern Pact on 24 November 1936, were taken without foreign ministry participation. Indeed, the pact with Japan was signed when Germany's ambassador to Tokio was on the high seas.³ From Erich Kordt, too, we hear that Hitler's decision on 14 November 1936 to denounce the clauses in the Treaty of Versailles referring to the internationalization of Germany's inland waterways was taken against Neurath's advice, and ran contrary to current negotiations by the foreign ministry.⁴

We know now that it was in winter 1937-8 that German foreign policy became set decisively on the course that led to war, and that the decision was Hitler's own.⁵ While Neurath remained foreign minister, policy was conducted with relative prudence. With the exception of the insertion of the *Auslandsorganisation* under E. W. Bohle on 30 January 1937 as an additional department, the foreign ministry staff and organization remained much as it had been in the days of the Weimar Republic.⁶ The emphasis lay on economic rather than political expansion, and where there was expansion it was to be undertaken by methods 'short of war'. The published documents show, for instance, that German intervention in the Spanish Civil War was aimed as much at gaining a controlling interest in Spanish iron ore and post-war reconstruction contracts, as at securing a political alliance of doubtful value with General Franco.⁷ Whereas Ribbentrop would have been ready to see the German military commitment enlarged and a final breakdown of the non-intervention committee take place, Neurath was not;⁸ in fact, the German commitment was kept down to RM 400,000,000, spread over three years.⁹

On 5 November 1937, however, Hitler summoned Göring, Fritsch, Blomberg, Raeder and Neurath to a private meeting at the Reichschancery.¹⁰ The immediate reason we do not know. There, he told them that he was going to give them the fruit of considerations which he had been maturing in his mind over the previous years, and that these

² Ernst von Weizsäcker, *Erinnerungen* (Munich, 1950), p. 129.

³ H. von Dirksen, *Moskau, Tokio, London* (Stuttgart, 1949), p. 188. See also, Paul Seabury, 'Ribbentrop and the German Foreign Office', *Political Science Quarterly*, 1951, lxvi, 538.

⁴ E. Kordt, *Wahn und Wirklichkeit* (Stuttgart, 1949), p. 79.

⁵ J. Wheeler-Bennett, *Munich: Prologue to Tragedy*, 1948, pp. 11 ff.; *Survey of International Affairs*, 1938, ii, 2.

⁶ Seabury, *art. cit.*, p. 535. The accession of Hitler to power on 30 January 1933 caused only a mild flutter in the foreign ministry. Von Neurath reassured Dirksen in Moscow that no change in Reich foreign policy was contemplated.

⁷ *German Documents*, iii; see review in *Times Literary Supplement*, 29 June 1951, p. 406.

⁸ *Ibid.*, iii, nos. 376, 379 and 460.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 932.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, i, no. 19. Cf. *Survey of International Affairs*, 1938, ii, 2 and 12. The German text is reproduced in *Von Neurath zu Ribbentrop* (*Akten zur deutschen auswärtigen Politik, Serie D, Band i*, Baden-Baden, 1950), pp. 25-32.

thoughts were to be regarded as his political testament. 'The aim of German policy', Hitler said, 'was to secure and preserve the racial community and to enlarge it. It was therefore a question of space.' Unlike those of 'liberal capitalist states', Germany's needs could not be solved by the grant of colonies. The area of expansion must be found on Germany's borders, in the annexation of Austria and Czechoslovakia. This must be carried out at the latest by 1945 and in the case of Czechoslovakia 'with lightning speed', otherwise military advantages would be on the side of Germany's potential enemies. Force would in any case have to be used. He realized that France would not move to defend the Succession States in central Europe without British support, and so the problem was, how to secure British neutrality or to defeat her. He believed, however, that a favourable moment to accomplish his aims might occur in the near future, through the outbreak of conflict between France and Britain on the one hand and Italy on the other for supremacy in the Mediterranean. In addition, he would move in the event of a civil war breaking out in France, which he thought possible. His hearers disagreed, and were bold enough to say so. Through the restrained wording of the official minute drawn up by Hitler's *aide*, Lieut.-Col. Hossbach, one can see that the conference ended uneasily. Hitler's military advisers felt doubts regarding the wisdom of considering Britain and France as enemies. Neurath pointed to the unlikelihood of war starting in the Mediterranean in the near future. On 4 February 1938 Neurath, Fritsch and Blomberg were removed from office.

Even before he became foreign minister, Ribbentrop had shown his agreement with his master's plans. The *Büro Ram* microfilm includes a copy of a minute written by him to Hitler on 2 January 1938 while he was still ambassador in London.¹¹ No trace of this minute was found in the foreign ministry files and the copy belonging to *Büro Ram* which had been microfilmed was not initialled by any official in the foreign ministry. It had, however, been marked by Erich Kordt '*zu sekretieren*',¹² and the document itself was addressed, '*Notiz für den Führer. Nur persönlich*'.¹³ It was probably not filed with the foreign ministry, and there is no indication that it was seen by anyone in the Wilhelmstrasse, including Neurath. This minute took the form of a comment on a report from the German embassy in London, which also has not survived. It opens

With the realization that Germany does not want to be bound by the *status quo* in central Europe, and that war in Europe is possible sooner or later, the hope for an understanding among British politicians favourable to Germany—if they are not for that matter at present simply playing a rôle that has been assigned to them—will gradually come to an end.

Like Hitler, Ribbentrop based himself on the view that 'a change in the eastern *status quo* to Germany's advantage can only be accompanied

¹¹ *German Documents*, i, no. 93.

¹³ 'Note for the Führer: strictly personal'.

¹² 'To be kept secret'.

by force', but he goes further, in singling out Great Britain as 'Germany's most dangerous enemy', and thus he reveals the real purpose of the Anti-Comintern Pact. The objective of policy must be, to form a more powerful coalition than that formed by Britain and France, to force the latter into neutrality while Germany fulfilled her aims in central and south-eastern Europe.

These documents are of fundamental importance. Uppermost in Hitler's mind was fear of Slav expansion in central Europe which might result in the elimination of 'German Austria' and the German minority in Czechoslovakia. The latter fear was perhaps not wholly unreasonable. Time, he believed, was against Germany, for the 'Bolshevism' he hated was not merely represented by the political ideas of the Soviet Union, but more tangibly, by the higher birthrate of the Slav peoples. Thus, the defence of the Sudeten German settlements became a desperate battle against odds. As Weizsäcker points out, Hitler's ideas would not have seemed at all unusual in Bohemia,¹⁴ but translated into foreign policy, they implied a return to the passion and provincialism of pre-1914 Hapsburg politics, only this time the storm-centre had shifted from Bosnia to the Sudetenland.

This narrow and rigid view of German aims left Hitler no scope for handling his country's most difficult problem—relations with Britain. Neurath's plans had included the signature of a western security pact between Germany, Italy, France and Britain. Much time had been spent in 1936 and 1937 in preparatory negotiations; these were now allowed to lapse.¹⁵ So too, the question of the return of the German colonies became academic. Indeed it remained so in Hitler's mind till after the fall of France. The issue was a useful one to keep open with the British, but as Ribbentrop admitted to Oswald Pirow, the South African minister of defence, in an interview on 18 November 1938, this question could be settled 'any time in the next five or six years'.¹⁶ It is interesting to compare the Hossbach memorandum with the account of Hitler's conversation with Lord Halifax a fortnight afterwards at which colonial questions were discussed.¹⁷ At the one Hitler was saying what he thought, in the other he was engaged in polite but futile discussion. During his talk with Lord Halifax, Hitler was careful not to give an inkling of his real views on central Europe. His reply to a question on the subject by Halifax was, 'As far as Czechoslovakia and Austria were concerned, a settlement could equally be reached, given a reasonable attitude'.¹⁸ Unexpressed throughout this conversation was Hitler's basic aim, 'How can I keep Britain neutral while I overthrow Schussnigg's Austria and the Czechs?'

¹⁴ Weizsäcker, *op cit.* p. 201; '*In der Tchechei wäre sein Typ wohl gar nicht beachtet worden*'.

¹⁵ The German Ministry documents suggest that this plan miscarried largely because of Mussolini's intransigence, which was due to his antipathy towards Great Britain and consequent unwillingness to enter into a Security Pact which would include safeguarding British interests in the Mediterranean.

¹⁶ *German Documents*, iv, no. 270, p. 335.

¹⁷ *Ibid.* i, no. 31, pp. 54-67.

¹⁸ *Ibid.* p. 64.

The foreign ministry officials might have been shocked at the revelation of Hitler's and Ribbentrop's views. At the time when the latter had made up his mind that no understanding with Britain was possible, Weizsäcker, then director of the political department, wrote, in a minute to Neurath on 20 December 1937, that Germany's advantage lay in continuing to negotiate for a settlement with Great Britain. Germany, Weizsäcker thought, was not strong enough to engage in European conflicts and should stay out of any. 'Keeping Britain in a state of vacillation as long as possible is certainly to be preferred to a condition of definite British hostility towards us.'¹⁹ Thus within a fortnight the German ambassador in London and the deputy head of the permanent staff in the foreign ministry were presenting diametrically opposed appreciations. Yet Weizsäcker was to serve five years as Ribbentrop's state secretary.

From Prague, too, the capital of Hitler's chief prospective victim, the German minister, Eisenlohr, continued to send reassuring and moderate reports. On 4 February 1938 he stated that he had recommended Henlein, the local *Führer* of the Sudeten-deutsch, 'to consider seriously the possibility of negotiating with the Czechs for a gradual settlement of concrete differences', and even for Henleinists to enter the Czechoslovak government as a 'means of bringing Czechoslovakia out of the French camp'.²⁰ On the very day that Hitler decided to end Austrian independence, 11 March 1938, Eisenlohr requested the acting state secretary, Mackensen, that neither Karl Herman Frank nor Henlein should be received in the foreign ministry, as 'he did not think that they were sincere in their assurances that they would adapt themselves entirely to the Reich policy'. Frank, in particular, was suspected of 'raising unacceptable demands so as to hinder a settlement and a *détente* in order to bring about an eventual armed conflict with the Reich'.²¹

These documents are remarkable in showing just how far was the average foreign ministry official from understanding the real aims of his government. Except where he is reporting some alleged injustice against individual Sudetens or the possibility of evictions or forced sales of Sudeten property, Eisenlohr is unruffled and fair. Almost up to the immediate crisis before Munich he seemed to believe that a settlement between Sudetens and Czechs was possible within the formal framework of the Czechoslovak state.

On 28 March, however, Henlein was received by Hitler, and was told that it was intended 'to settle the Sudeten-German problem in the not too distant future'. As part of the tactics to be employed, 'demands should be made by the Sudeten German Party which were unacceptable to the Czech government'. Characteristically enough, the report of this three-hour interview was labelled 'Top Secret: Military'.

¹⁹ *German Documents*, i, no. 86, p. 148.

²¹ *Ibid.* ii, no. 68.

²⁰ *Ibid.* ii, no. 53, pp. 122-3.

It does not appear to have reached the state secretary's file until 1941.²² In fact, when Ribbentrop briefed officials of the foreign ministry the following day, the purport of the interview was toned down considerably. No mention was made of Hitler's intention to reach a speedy settlement with the Czechs nor of the tactics of raising 'unacceptable demands'. The foreign ministry was informed that 'while the *Sudeten-deutschpartei* must know that the Reich stood behind it, it was its responsibility to present the Czechoslovak government with those demands it considered necessary for the attainment of the freedom they desired'.²³ Indeed, to the uninitiated the Eight Points which Henlein proceeded to outline at Karlsbad on 24 April might have sounded like a rather badly-phrased rehash of previous Sudeten German demands.

According to his own statement, made to President Hacha towards the end of their famous interview on the night of 14-15 March 1939, it was on 28 May 1938 that Hitler decided 'to smash Czechoslovakia'. His rage at President Benes' decision to call up one class of reservists on 21 May is revealed in another *military* document dated 30 May. 'It is my unalterable decision to smash Czechoslovakia by military action in the near future.'²⁴ This decision, however, Hitler stated, was communicated to a 'narrow circle' only.²⁵ The foreign ministry were, however, well aware of the probable results of such an action against the Czechs. From London, Ambassador Dirksen wrote on 8 June 1938, that Britain would fight only

if direct military action were taken despite guarantees from the Czechs that Sudetens could freely state their wishes. But even among those prepared for the utmost conciliation there are no signs of willingness to keep Britain out of a war at all costs on account of the Sudeten German question.²⁶

Then she would fight. Weizsäcker was still clearer. In a minute to Ribbentrop dated 20 June 1938 he states

the decision about our aims in the East would once again have to be fought for in the West, and be confirmed by a dictated peace in London and Paris . . . We have no military recipe for defeating France and Britain. . . . The war would therefore end in our exhaustion and defeat. The common loser with us would be the whole of Europe, the victors chiefly the non-European continents and the anti-social powers.²⁷

These were grave words, a frank estimate from a man who was not lacking either in personal courage or a willingness to speak his mind.²⁸

²² *Ibid.* no. 107. A copy was found among a number of other papers which had been filed together in a folder entitled, '*Das Protektorat Böhmen und Mähren, 1 April 39-20.7.43*'. This was put at the end of the state secretary's file on Czechoslovakia. The account of Hitler's interview with Henlein lay between the draft of the Vienna Award of 2 November 1938 and a telegram from Athens, dated 5 August 1942.

²³ *Ibid.* ii, no. 109, p. 204.

²⁴ *Ibid.* ii, no. 221, p. 357.

²⁵ *Ibid.* iv, no. 228, p. 269.

²⁶ *Ibid.* ii, no. 244, p. 392.

²⁷ *Ibid.* ii, no. 259, p. 420.

²⁸ For an example of Weizsäcker's courage, see *Documents on British Foreign Policy, Third Series*, ii, 690. If discovered, the information which he had passed to the British government through Burckhardt about the aims of Hitler's immediate circle, coupled with the advice that Chamberlain should inform Hitler that an attack on Czechoslovakia would mean war with Great Britain, would have led to his execution.

But any forceful opposition to Hitler in the summer of 1938, whether by the British and French governments or by the foreign ministry or by the German generals, was vitiated by lack of common aims or even of confidence in themselves. The Allied governments were prepared reluctantly to acquiesce in Hitler's immediate gains in central Europe. The German opposition probably secretly approved Hitler's basic ambitions there: they cavilled only at the methods to be used in achieving them. In the report already quoted, Dirksen gave as his view that 'anything that could be got without a shot could count on British support'.²⁹ The British documents for the period, which have now been published, certainly make it clear that the British government did not feel strong enough, either in a military or a moral sense, to go to war to prevent self-determination for the Sudeten Germans, providing that this were brought about without German armed intervention.³⁰ Similarly, Weizsäcker, while attempting to dissuade Ribbentrop from war, was eager with arguments in favour of 'corroding away' the Czech state through a combination of political pressure and economic sanctions; 'meanwhile it would be advisable to tighten more and more the economic screw on the Czechs', he wrote in his minute of 30 August 1938.³¹ Perhaps it is not to be wondered that Hitler was prepared to listen to men like *Gauleiter* Forster, Himmler and Ribbentrop, who felt that the risks of war with powers uncertain of the justice of the cause they were defending could be faced with equanimity.

None the less, Munich did represent a gain for those officials in the foreign ministry who believed that a war could not end without irreparable damage to Europe, including Germany. There is some evidence even to show that Hitler himself at first intended to observe the agreement. This may seem surprising, but the documents suggest that, both as regards Austria and Czechoslovakia, Hitler at unexpected moments would see the advantage of attempting to gain his ends by what he described as 'evolutionary methods'. For instance, after the Berchtesgaden conversations with Schuschnigg on 12 February 1938, Hitler dismissed the Nazi *Landesleiter*, Captain Leopold and his supporters, who were advocating immediate revolutionary action against Schuschnigg's government.³² In the case of Czechoslovakia the 'evolution' which suggested itself may have been 'self determination' for the various minorities, followed by a series of treaties between Germany and Czechoslovakia, which, under the general heading of a Treaty of Friendship, would bring the Czechs into effective dependence on their neighbour. Meantime the Western Powers (and Italy) were to be shown that their guarantee of the new state was not required. On 3 October Hitler ordered that, 'with reference to Germanism in Europe outside our

²⁹ *German Documents*, ii, no. 244, p. 393.

³⁰ See particularly, *Documents on British Foreign Policy, Third Series*, i, no. 152, p. 175, and ii, no. 814, p. 276.

³¹ *German Documents*, ii, no. 409, p. 663.

³² *Ibid.* i, nos. 318 and 328, pp. 539-41 and 548-9.

frontier, influence exerted from the Reich is in future to be confined to the fostering and preservation of cultural interests, and all irridentist activity is to be discouraged'.³³ Halder also records that on the same day, 3 October, Keitel ordered a cessation of military preparations in view of the *détente* in international affairs. The army had until 1944 for consolidation.³⁴

It was not until after the Vienna Award of 2 November 1938 that one finds evidence that Hitler was beginning to repent of not having carried out his ideas of the previous May. There were negotiations for minor frontier rectifications; the foreign ministry had been prepared to make a number of concessions to the Czechs, in order to secure their agreement to a cession of territory containing a preponderantly Czech population, which would allow more room for the construction of German strategic highways.³⁵ On 7 November, however, Hitler ordered that there were to be no concessions to the Czechs and that their delegates were to be told that if they did not like the German claims, then 'Hitler would take up the matter personally and they would fare worse'.³⁶ Nevertheless, the Czechs accepted the German demands, and a series of agreements, signed on 18–21 November, defined the new frontier and gave the Germans the use of Czech waterways and the right to build an *autobahn* linking Breslau and Vienna across Czech territory.³⁷ Preparations were also made for the signature of the Treaty of Friendship, a draft of which, dated 25 November, exists in the foreign ministry files.³⁸

But once more, the foreign ministry laboured in vain. The treaty was never signed. Instead, on 17 December, Hitler ordered the general staff to make active preparations for the military occupation of Czechoslovakia.³⁹ Four days before, the Czech foreign minister had been informed that Ribbentrop would not be available to meet him until the New Year.⁴⁰ This change of mood does not appear to have been connected with any particular event. There seems, however, to have been a swing of opinion among the leaders of the remaining German minority in Czechoslovakia towards the view that total absorption by the *Reich* was the only solution of their problems. A memorandum by Kundt, dated 16 December, on the situation of the German element in Czechoslovakia is couched in a far sharper and more accusatory tone than his statements of the previous October.⁴¹

Reports of this situation were not lost on Hitler. One gains the impression that from mid-November 1938 the agencies of the Nazi party, and in particular the *Volksdeutsche Mittelstelle*—the para-diplomatic service—made their influence felt in Czech affairs more effectively

³³ *Ibid.* iv, no. 18, p. 21.

³⁴ Peter Bor, *Gespräche mit Halder* (Wiesbaden, 1950), p. 123.

³⁵ *German Documents*, iv, no. 102, pp. 129–32.

³⁶ *Ibid.* iv, no. 108, pp. 137–8.

³⁷ *Ibid.* iv, nos. 117, 123, 124, 125, 135.

³⁸ Not published: preserved on foreign office microfilm under serial 1941, frames 435, 100–1. See *German Documents*, iv, no. 137, note 2 and no. 150, note 1.

³⁹ *German Documents*, iv, no. 152.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.* no. 148, p. 181.

⁴¹ *Ibid.* no. 151, pp. 183–4.

than did the foreign ministry—and their counsel was generally towards ‘radical solutions’. In November there was a trial of strength between the two authorities over the proposed guarantee for the protection of the remaining *Volksdeutsche* in Czechoslovakia. The foreign ministry put up a draft on the lines of the German-Polish minorities declaration of 5 November 1937, an agreement which at least in form entailed mutual obligations. The *Volksdeutsche Mittelstelle* would have none of it. At an interdepartmental meeting on 7 November their representative declared, ‘We do not wish to grant to the Czech minority (in Germany) the position which we expect for our German group in Czechoslovakia. . . . At present we ourselves cannot yet foresee what our ultimate demands will be.’⁴² A few days before, the same agency had rejected the views submitted by Kundt, the leader of the remaining German minority in Czechoslovakia. Kundt believed at this time that the minority could be satisfied by the grant of some form of protected status within the Czech Republic. He was arguing that it might be worth while to try to win the Czechs over to accept German suzerainty by showing that for long periods in their history, particularly during the Reformation, Czechs and Germans lived together and fought on the same side. The tradition of hostility between the two peoples, he claimed, had grown up comparatively recently.⁴³

But such counsels of moderation became out of date during the winter of 1938–9. Stories of hardships suffered by the Sudetens multiplied, and with each report the chances of the survival of Czechoslovakia became more remote. The exact moment when Hitler decided to march on Prague cannot be determined from our present evidence. Certainly, when at last he deigned to see Chvalkowsky on 21 January 1939, he was inclined to give the Czechs a final chance.⁴⁴ His mind was not made up when he saw the Slovak separatist leader Tuka on 12 February.⁴⁵ This was a much franker discussion. Hitler said that the moment the old anti-German tendencies in Czechia began to spread he would act ruthlessly. He warned Tuka that in that event Slovakia would do well to separate herself from the Czechs or else ‘Cling together and swing together’. He had taken his decision, however, by 5 March, for when a delegation from Hacha himself came to Berlin in the first days of March with proposals that included the permanent appointment of a Sudeten representative in the Czech cabinet, Ribbentrop wrote in a sprawling hand across the foreign ministry account of the talks, ‘*Führer desinteressiert*’.⁴⁶ It was the end. That Hitler had come to some conclusion by 1 March was also Sir Neville Henderson’s view

⁴² *German Documents*, iv, no. 111, p. 141. Cf. *ibid.* no. 104.

⁴³ *Ibid.* iv, no. 104, p. 134. Kundt’s memorandum is not published in the existing edition of the *German Documents*. A summary of his views on the protection of the German minority is contained in the Document 104, and the memorandum itself is preserved on a foreign office microfilm under serial 1022, frames 309262–7.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.* iv, no. 158.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.* no. 168. The record of this interview was preserved only on the *Büro Ram* microfilm.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.* no. 177, p. 221: ‘The *Führer* is not interested’.

in retrospect.⁴⁷ Hitler needed only to wait a few days before the Slovak separatists, amply encouraged by agents of the Nazi party, provoked a crisis. This enabled him to act.

One is left with the presumption that something happened in the last part of February 1939 that decided Hitler to revert to his policy of violence. The calling-up of a number of Sudeten conscripts into the Czech army in February may have had something to do with it,⁴⁸ but I think that a more powerful influence was a memorandum which Kundt prepared as a brief for an interview with Hitler on 28 February. This sixteen-page document,⁴⁹ written as a direct personal appeal to Hitler, was a long concatenation of woes suffered by the Sudetens still living under Czech rule. If one reads Hitler's assurances made to Henlein the previous year, then one can understand how such a document would inflame him. Unfortunately, no account of Kundt's interview with Hitler has come to light. This may be one of the unluckiest gaps in the story. One notes, however, the change of policy, from one of sullen menace to one of direct hostility, and this takes place in the first days of March.

The final phase of the drama was conducted by Hitler, Ribbentrop, and their special emissaries Keppler and Veesenmeyer, practically without foreign ministry assistance. These birds of ill-omen foreshadow every crisis during 1937-9—*Anschluss*, Prague, Danzig—indeed they appear in the documentary records wherever there is dirty work to be done. The regular German representatives in Prague were reduced to ciphers. They are told to 'act dumb', to pretend to be ill, to refuse to see visitors, to accept only messages in writing. At the same time the foreign ministry itself was left to guess what was happening. Weizsäcker records⁵⁰ that he was not even informed of the visit of Mgr. Tiso to Hitler on 13 March, when Hitler ordered the Slovak to choose between an immediate declaration of independence from Prague or an equally speedy occupation by German troops.⁵¹ At last, on 14 March, President Hacha, in order to break the tension, sent a longhand letter through Chvalkowsky to the German *chargé* begging him to arrange a personal interview with Hitler.⁵² This led to the famous conversations held in Berlin that same night.

Quite rightly, world opinion fastened on the occupation of Prague as the decisive event that rendered war between Great Britain and Germany inevitable. From London, Dirksen considered that though the crisis would not immediately lead to war, relations had undergone a fundamental change for the worse.⁵³ We know now that from any but Hitler's personal viewpoint the march into Prague was a senseless act. As late as 14 March Weizsäcker notes that the British were prepared

⁴⁷ L. B. Namier, *Diplomatic Prelude*, 1948, p. 64.

⁴⁸ *German Documents*, iv, nos. 168 and 172.

⁴⁹ Not published; filmed as serial 1957, frames 437, 127-41. ⁵⁰ Weizsäcker, *op. cit.* p. 216.

⁵¹ The report of the interview is preserved on the *Büro Ram* microfilm only. (*German Documents*, iv, no. 202.)

⁵² *German Documents*, iv, nos. 204 and 216.

⁵³ Dirksen, *op. cit.* p. 241. The text of the report is published in *German Documents*, vi, no. 35.

to concede the 'predominance of German interests in the Czech area'.⁵⁴ Hacha's government had handed over its strategic resources and part of its gold to Germany, and now asked for little more than nominal independence; but that was what Hitler was not prepared to grant.

From the time he had stated his aims in November 1937, Hitler had taken little notice of the advice of his foreign service. During the whole of his tour of duty in London between April 1938 and September 1939, Dirksen saw Hitler for a bare seven minutes.⁵⁵ On his return from London to report on British reactions to the seizure of Prague, Ribbentrop kept him waiting for five days without an interview.⁵⁶ Similarly when Eisenlohr returned from Prague during the Munich crisis he was not invited to Berchtesgaden to report. He was consigned to semi-retirement until after the occupation of Prague, when he was appointed chairman of a committee charged with the settlement of routine economic questions arising out of the annexation. Hitler's inspiration came from other sources, from press reports, from caricatures of himself, and from the curious intelligence reports which were prepared by *Oberführer* Likus in Ribbentrop's private office.⁵⁷ These contained a mixture of press correspondents' gossip and hearsay from the embassies in Berlin. They were sedulously fed to Hitler. It is interesting too, that during the whole of this period 1937-9, he never seems to have taken into account the strength of the United States. In November 1938 Ribbentrop would lightheartedly have broken off relations with the American government as a reprisal for the handling of Göring's *pogrom* against the Jews in the American Press. In this case the foreign ministry prevented his act of folly;⁵⁸ but on central Europe Hitler's mind was closed. No advice would be taken.

The same pattern is revealed by the study of the foreign ministry documents covering the period 15 March-8 August 1939.⁵⁹ This was the heyday of Ribbentrop's and Göring's personal ascendancy, and the foreign ministry became even more of a backwater. The decisive stage on the road to war was marked by the Führer Conference of 25 May 1939, the minutes of which have survived.⁶⁰ They rank equally with the Hossbach Memorandum as a landmark in the annals of the decline of the West. In both documents Hitler urged on his hearers the vital need for expanding the German living space in the East and of obtaining food supplies from the thinly-populated areas there, only now Poland and even the Baltic States were Germany's objectives. This solution was to be preferred to the acquisition of colonial territory. The

⁵⁴ *German Documents*, iv, no. 213, p. 254. In his memoirs, however, Weizsäcker dates the interview 12-13 March. *Erinnerungen*, p. 215.

⁵⁵ See Dirksen's final report on his ambassadorship, written after his return to Germany in August 1939, and published in *Documents and Material Relative to the Eve of the Second World War* (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, U.S.S.R.), ii, 158.

⁵⁶ Dirksen, *Moskau, Tokio, London*, p. 242.

⁵⁷ Cf. Weizsäcker, *op. cit.* p. 129, and Seabury, *art. cit.* p. 542.

⁵⁸ *German Documents*, iv, p. 733, and No. 504.

⁵⁹ Vol. vi, *The Last Months of Peace, March-August 1939*. H.M.S.O. 1956.

⁶⁰ *German Documents*, vi, no. 433, pp. 574-80.

secretary's note, 'Colonies: A warning against accepting gifts of colonial possessions. This is no solution of the food problem. Blockade',⁶¹ is a further indication that colonial claims as such played little part in Hitler's real policy towards Britain. But Germany's claims in the East could no longer be settled peacefully, and thus the *decision was to attack Poland at the first suitable opportunity* (italics in the text). Active preparations were to be made for war with England. 'England sees in our development the establishment of a hegemony which would weaken England. Therefore England is our enemy and the showdown with England is a matter of life and death.'⁶² No foreign ministry official was present at this meeting. Little, too, can be gathered from the foreign ministry files about the antecedents of the two other outstanding events of that spring and summer. The conclusion of the 'Pact of Steel' with Italy on 22 May seems to have been negotiated by Ribbentrop and Göring with little beyond technical assistance from their official advisers.⁶³ The same appears to be true of the talks that led up to the extension of the military alliance⁶⁴ to Japan, and the signature of the German-Japanese economic agreement of 28 July 1939.⁶⁵ In these months no evidence as to the precise nature of the German-Japanese negotiations have been found in the foreign ministry archives. In the same period, Göring was busy using Party agents to bypass the foreign ministry's accredited representatives in Spain in his abortive efforts to stage a triumphal meeting with General Franco.⁶⁶

Even relations with Britain were left to untrained hands. The clear-headed, factual appreciations by Dirksen seem to have carried less weight than unofficial despatches by various agents in London. It was these which regularly reached Hitler, their margins heavily scored by Ribbentrop's thick red and green crayon. One of the most significant of these reports was that by Adam von Trott zu Solz on his stay at Cliveden in the first week of June.⁶⁷ His conversations, faithfully recorded after the guests had gone to bed, with Lords Astor, Lothian and Halifax throw an interesting light on the hopes of the British Government at this juncture. They hardly reflect credit on the discretion or even the common-sense of our leading statesmen. The study of those documents which Ribbentrop considered most important, taken with the gaps in the foreign ministry files, suggests that by now the Wilhelmstrasse had ceased to be the place where decisions affecting German foreign policy were taken.⁶⁸ Von Weizsäcker records in his memoirs that when it came to compiling the German White Book on the outbreak of war, he forbade any alteration of official minutes for purposes of publication.⁶⁹ They contained no secrets to give away.

⁶¹ *Ibid.* p. 575.

⁶² *Ibid.* vi, p. 576.

⁶³ *Ibid.* vi, no. 341, and the unsigned briefs associated with it.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.* pp. 81-3, and No. 270.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.* p. 1012.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.* iii, nos. 793, 794, 799 and 800.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.* vi, no. 497, pp. 674-84.

⁶⁸ So, von Weizsäcker, *op. cit.* p. 236, 'Die eigentlichen und wichtigen Vorgänge spielten sich sowieso nicht auf dem diplomatischen Weg und gar nicht in der Wilhelmstrasse ab.'

⁶⁹ *Ibid.* p. 236.

HISTORY BOOKS FOR SCHOOLS: II

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HISTORY TEACHERS who want their pupils to do individual work and to write their own accounts of the past have always been handicapped by the lack of suitable books. The familiar series of history textbooks help children to cover extensive syllabuses rather than to study particular topics intensively. The shorter books say too little to arouse curiosity; longer ones pack in the kind of detail that tires the memory without awakening the imagination. Most encyclopædias contain rather formal summaries expressed in academic language. The Oxford Junior Encyclopædia is attractively written and presented, but its classification makes it difficult to know where to look up historical information. The present selection of books for review shows that publishers are beginning to meet the need for works of reference while continuing to issue new series of textbooks and new visual aids.

Schools which can afford to purchase sets rather than single volumes of the *Methuen Outlines* edited by Patrick Thornhill will be fortunate. The latest additions to this useful reference library are *Roman Britain*¹ and *English Churches*² by R. R. Sellman and *Spinning and Weaving*³ by S. E. Ellacott. The text of *Roman Britain* is a clear and up-to-date summary taking into account recent archæological research and historical interpretation. In style and presentation it is suited only for middle and upper forms of grammar schools but other features of the book have a less restricted appeal. Maps and diagrams appear on almost every page and are drawn with Mr. Sellman's customary skill. Undoubtedly any teacher or pupil picking up the book will linger over the fascinating drawings by Alan Sorrell of Roman road builders, Caerwent, a milecastle on Hadrian's Wall and a Roman villa. The detail in them is worth close attention. Convenient lists of Roman sites with their names, of emperors, generals, books to read and an index, complete a most valuable book. *English Churches* has much the same merits. The text is lucid and concise, though none too easy even for G.C.E. candidates offering History of Architecture. Diagrams explain the construction of different types of vault and roof. Mr. Sellman's account emphasizes the fact that churches were built to accommodate a congregation of worshippers and reflect changing standards of life and canons of belief as well as developments in architectural skills. A vivid impression of changing atmosphere is conveyed by

¹ *Roman Britain*. By R. R. Sellman. Methuen. 1956. 67 pp., with maps, diagrams and drawings. 8s. 6d.

² *English Churches*. By R. R. Sellman. Methuen. 1956. 63 pp., with maps, diagrams and drawings. 8s. 6d.

³ *Spinning and Weaving*. By S. E. Ellacott. Methuen. 1956. 76 pp. illus. 10s. 6d.

Alan Sorrell's reconstructions of typical churches illustrating the pre-Conquest, Fifteenth Century, Laudian, Eighteenth Century and Victorian styles.

Spinning and Weaving ranges through many countries and all ages in an interesting way. Mr. Ellacott's description and narrative are admirably specific. Prehistoric methods are compared with those of primitive tribes today and the development of the hand processes which preceded the familiar inventions of the eighteenth century is carefully traced. Technical terms are simply explained and attention is drawn to important lives and the social background of the textile industry. In spite of many good illustrations of equipment and design, the drawing of the more complex processes is not satisfactory. Though the machines look antique and the operatives glamorous, the working sequences are not easy to follow and the captions are not sufficient to clear up the obscurity. A more diagrammatic and less impressionistic technique might have achieved better results; in this respect the illustrations of industrial processes in I. Tenen's *This England* are a model.

Besides consulting reference books recently written for schools—such as the interesting series by Mrs. Agnes Allen, to which she has just added *The Story of Archaeology*⁴—the enquiring pupil will have to use older books. Here the difficulty is that the teacher will not know what books are in print and how far they are suited to the needs of their particular pupils. Mary Schroeder has produced a valuable guide as a Teachers' Reference Book to her textbook *Man's Forward March*,⁵ a history in three parts of the development of transport, communication and economic life. Each chapter of the Reference Book amplifies the text and interprets the illustrations in the corresponding chapter of the history course and contains a wealth of incidental information comparing past and present. Teachers will find in it the essentially practical explanations that children demand and that their training so seldom provides, as well as a wonderful selection of suggestions for children's activities. Each section and chapter has its bibliography, in which books are neatly classified by symbols which show whether a book is useful for information or illustrations, whether its text is suitable for reading by teachers, senior and junior pupils, etc. The books included were evidently used by the author in writing her own, and in places the list might be revised and brought up to date. Doubtful sources like A. Watkin's *The Old, Straight Track* should be replaced by modern books such as O. G. S. Crawford's *Archæology in the Field* which contain critical reviews of earlier popularizations.

When pupils follow a course with the aid of a textbook they can still benefit from supplementary reading. C. R. N. Routh has produced a splendid selection of contemporary sources in *They Saw it Happen 1485-1688*.⁶ History for him is 'men and women and children, not coal and railways and wages' and this is the period to justify his faith; there is hardly a great character or major event not illuminated by some notable words used by someone who lived in their time. Sir John Hayward's panegyric on Queen Elizabeth I is offset by extracts which show her vanity and keenness to display her figure as well as her languages to foreign visitors. Raleigh's servant Heriot described Indians in Virginia sacrificing tobacco to their gods with a rock and roll '... all done with strange gestures, stamping, sometimes dancing, clapping

⁴ *The Story of Archaeology*. By Agnes Allen. Faber. 1956. 245 pp. illus. 15s.

⁵ *Man's Forward March*. Teachers' Reference Book. By Mary Schroeder. Chatto and Windus. 1956. 256 pp. 8s. 6d.

⁶ *They Saw it Happen 1485-1688*. By C. R. N. Routh. Blackwell. 1956. xv + 220 pp. 15s.

of hands, holding up of hands and staring into the heavens, uttering therewithal, and chattering strange words and noises'. Cromwell wrote of the Massacre of Drogheda: 'I am persuaded that this is a righteous judgment of God upon these barbarous wretches . . . and that it will tend to prevent the effusion of blood for the future.' Glimpses of this kind, linking the past with things only too familiar to us, are the beginning of an understanding of history as something more than a pageant. Yet heroism is not lacking and many extracts witness the courage with which men upheld their convictions and met their fate. Reading and discussing these contemporary documents will be a tonic to the textbook-weary; further selections on these lines will be very welcome.

R. J. Unstead's *Great Tudors and Stuarts*⁷ does a similar service for younger children and those who would find Elizabethan and Stuart prose too difficult. In this book and in its sequel *Great People of Modern Times*⁸ he tells interesting stories of famous lives and achievements. They are full of authentic detail, as may be seen by comparing the account of Mr. Samuel Pepys and the Fire of London with the extract in *They Saw it Happen*. The publishers have produced well printed books in gay covers, with many black and white illustrations and some rather glaring coloured plates which will nevertheless appeal to children.

These books emphasize people and events, but teachers who still favour 'lines of development' have other choices. John Finhemore's *Social Life in England*,⁹ Book 3, revised and largely rewritten by T. H. McGuffie, deals mainly with the themes of town and country, work and welfare, travel and leisure. As this type of history needs firmly anchoring in its period, the book is conveniently divided into three sections, covering the first and second halves of the nineteenth century and the twentieth century. The text is crisply written and the treatment of each topic is satisfying as changes are shown in clear detail as well as in broad perspective. There are plenty of contemporary illustrations which merit study and reflection; the comparison of the schoolroom at Eton in the early nineteenth century with the classroom in a London Board School in 1885 (with a science lesson in progress) is most instructive.

*From Serf to Citizen*¹⁰ is the title of a series of four books designed for the secondary modern school. The first gives a chronological outline of English History resting heavily upon the old division by dynasties and incorporating the usual common errors on Norman castles, the origin of Parliament, the capture of Constantinople and Cabinet Government. The other three cover a wide range of lines of development with the more difficult, political topics reserved for the last book. They are interesting and easy to read, but the smoothness is partly achieved by blurring the distinction between fact and judgment. Mr. Ward is perhaps too anxious to promote good citizenship; his tone is consistently improving. Surely it is hard enough to teach history without having to teach what history teaches.

⁷ *Great Tudors and Stuarts*. Book III of *People in History*. By R. J. Unstead. Black, 1956. 128 pp. illus. 6s.

⁸ *Great People of Modern Times*. Book IV of *People in History*. By R. J. Unstead. Black, 1956. 160 pp. illus. 6s. 6d.

⁹ *Social Life in England*. Book 3. By John Finhemore, revised by T. H. McGuffie. Black, 1956. 176 pp., with 105 illus. 7s. 6d.

¹⁰ *From Serf to Citizen*. By W. C. J. Ward. New edition. Blackie, 1956. Book I, 206 pp. illus. 5s. Book II, 238 pp. illus. 5s. 3d. Book III, 277 pp. illus. 5s. 6d. Book IV, 279 pp. illus. 5s. 6d.

A more direct approach to citizenship is indicated by the series *Living in Communities*. Book I deals with local, Book II with national, and Book III with international institutions. In Book II, *Our National Community*,¹¹ P. B. Hilton and A. L. Toothill deal with the Social Services, the Public Services, Commerce and Industry, and Law and Government. They begin each chapter with questions about current arrangements, continue with a brief historical sketch and conclude with suggestions for further reading and personal enquiries. This seems to be an admirable way of stimulating interest in public affairs through individual and group work rather than class teaching. More background knowledge comes in *The Last Hundred Years*¹² by C. H. C. Blount. This is a genuine world history without undue Imperial or European bias. Though the exposition is excellent, much of it is a mere summary of change rather than an account of how it happened and will probably convey very little to the fifteen-year-old. It assumes a readiness to think historically on a political plane that very few are likely to have. On the other hand some of the best parts of the book are concerned with political creeds; Marxism is very well outlined. But is it quite correct to define Nazism as a combination of extreme Nationalism and extreme Socialism? The Oxford University Press have produced the book in the usual format of *History Through the Ages: Second Series* with twenty-four fine plates; it might be very useful in the modern schools for those boys and girls who are staying on to work for G.C.E. or some other course of further education.

For the sixth form library A. Birnie's *Short Economic History of the United States*¹³ provides a valuable introduction to a subject that is an instructive contrast to our own economic development as well as a useful background to Anglo-American relations. Professors Hayes, Baldwin and Cole have brought out a new edition of their *History of Europe*,¹⁴ 'a text for introductory college courses on general European history'. It is quite horrifying to contemplate the effect of trying to absorb all this factual and comprehensive account of the development of European civilization. As an introduction to any particular epoch it would be very valuable, but for longer views the national histories, biased as most of them are, are more likely to provoke reflection than the work of this carefully objective committee. Nevertheless they have produced an important reference book, which they have brought up to date with a chapter on the Cold War, and included many interesting illustrations and valuable chapter bibliographies.

Among the recent visual aids are three coloured wall charts¹⁵ (20" × 30") which sum up the political and economic development of Europe from 1870 to 1939 in poster form by printing notes on three consecutive maps showing state boundaries and alignments. They may help some examination candidates to memorize but their value for teaching purposes is slight because they

¹¹ *Our National Community*. Book II of *Living in Communities*. By P. B. Hilton and A. L. Toothill. Macmillan. 1956. 164 pp. illus. diag. 4s.

¹² *The Last Hundred Years*. Book 5 of *History through the Ages: Second Series*. By C. H. C. Blount. Oxford University Press. 1956. 160 pp., with maps and 24 plates. 8s.

¹³ *Short Economic History of the United States*. By A. Birnie. University Tutorial Press. 1956. 146 pp. 7s. 6d.

¹⁴ *History of Europe*. By C. J. H. Hayes, M. W. Baldwin and C. W. Cole. Revised edition. Macmillan: New York and London. 1956. 1089 pp. with illus., maps. 48s. 6d. Parts VI-X published separately as *History of Europe since 1500*. By C. J. H. Hayes and C. W. Cole. Revised edition. Macmillan: New York and London. 1956. 632 pp., with illus., maps. 44s.

¹⁵ 'History of Europe' Wall Charts 1870-1900, 1900-1918, 1919-1939. Educational Productions. 1956. 15s. set.

lack the topographical details which give the boundaries their significance. There are four new film strips¹⁶: 'King Henry VIII' with contemporary illustrations and copious notes, 'Jacobean London' with drawings and gossip notes, 'How Man Began' with drawings and brief, intelligent notes and 'Introducing N.A.T.O.' with news photographs and a short commentary.

¹⁶ 'King Henry VIII.' 40 frames, notes by G. E. P. Siddaway. Common Ground CGB 698. 16s. 6d.

'Jacobean London.' 48 frames, notes by G. Heney. Education Productions No. 5182. 15s.

'How Man Began.' 34 frames (colour), notes by P. B. Redmayne. Educational Productions. 25s.

'Introducing N.A.T.O.' 28 frames, notes by J. Sewell. Unicorn Head. 10s.

EDITORIAL NOTES

THOSE WHO ARE NOT EDITORS sometimes have a fancy picture of an unperceptive editor, sitting in his chair, with one hand casting into the waste-paper basket a succession of brilliant manuscripts, while with the other he accepts for publication all the duller and less interesting contributions he is offered. The contents of *History*, it seems to me, do not justify this picture. Moreover, the assumption on which it is based, of a great reservoir of first-class material ready to flow out if only editors would turn the tap on, is far from the reality. A good historical article, meeting all the criteria that would ideally be required, is a difficult thing to write.

What are these criteria? Sound scholarship may be taken for granted but by itself is not enough. Historical articles are not ideally made up out of the by-products or left-overs of academic research: nor is the raw material to be presented to the reader as though he were a wild beast being fed by a keeper at the Zoo. This does not mean that research is anything less than the essence of history, but merely that history is something more than research, the results of which need to be shaped by an intellectual argument and a feeling for literary form: even historical articles should be well written.

There is another sense in which research is not enough. The discovery and exposition of new facts is of prime importance, but only in so far as these add to our knowledge of a subject with historical significance and take their place in a broader historical whole. The history of the changes in the interpretation of such a subject is also a contribution to historical understanding. Again, the processes by which the historian approaches his problems and employs his sources deserve discussion, especially if they involve new lines of investigation or new techniques. It is occasionally useful, also, to stand back and attempt to survey the modifications that more recent work has introduced into a given historical picture, to summarize the present position and perhaps guess at possible future lines of development. This, I believe, is the correct function of 'historical revisions'.

If asked, in more general terms, what kind of articles we should like to print, I find it impossible to improve on an answer given just over seventy years ago. This journal, I should like to say, will contain

no article which does not, in the Editor's judgment, add something to knowledge, i.e. which has not a value for the trained historian. No allurements of style will secure insertion for a popular *réchauffé* of facts already known or ideas already suggested. On the other hand, an effort will be made to provide in every number some articles, whether articles on a question, an epoch, or a personage, or reviews of books, which an educated man, not specially conversant with history, may read with pleasure and profit. We shall seek to accomplish this not so much by choosing topics certain to attract as by endeavouring to have even difficult topics treated

with freshness and point. So far from holding that true history is dull, we believe that dull history is usually bad history, and shall value those contributors most highly who can present their researches in a lucid and effective form.

I make no apology for quoting the Prefatory Note to the first number of the *English Historical Review*.

* * *

In the February number of *History* it was stated that a second symposium on the selection of students for History Honours, representing views from schools, would be published in June. Failure to realize the difficulty of this—material for the June number has to be in the hands of the printer not later than three weeks after the February number has been published—must be attributed to editorial inexperience. The second part of the symposium will therefore be published in October 1957.

* * *

The Historical Association has recently lost, by the death of Miss M. B. Curran, a link with its earliest days. Its first minutes, of a meeting held at University College London on 19 May 1906, 'to consider the advisability of the formation of a Historical Association', are in her handwriting. Miss Curran, as well as being Assistant Secretary of the Royal Historical Society, was Secretary of the Association until 1921. She was subsequently elected a member of Council and a Vice-President, and was Hon. Secretary of the Central London Branch from 1906 to 1945. Her advice and help were freely given to succeeding secretaries; her knowledge of the historical world, her personality and her kindness were invaluable to the Association in its formative period.

Two other members whose loss we have to regret are Miss Madeley and Miss Stretton. Miss Madeley was the Secretary to the Leeds Branch when it was first formed fifty years ago. In addition to a full professional career as teacher, lecturer in a training college and Assistant Director of Education, she was the author of school books and Historical Association leaflets. An active and constructive member of Council, she became the mainspring of the Teaching of History Committee and was instrumental in launching its new series of leaflets. Miss Grace Stretton was a member of Council and of several of its committees. Her assistance was cheerfully and generously given behind the scenes at headquarters. One of the latest of her services was to prepare much of the material for the history of the Association. Her death will be felt personally and deeply by all who have worked for the Historical Association and who know how much it owes to her.

It is not intended that these Editorial Notes should be used to commemorate the talents that historians have displayed in a wider field; but it seems only fitting to say a word in appreciation of some of those who have modestly helped to cultivate our own garden, and without whose voluntary labours the Association could not continue to function or to serve the purposes it does.

* * *

The Association much regrets that it has not proved possible to distribute the three numbers of *History* for 1956 as early in the current year as was hoped. They will be sent to all who subscribed for that year as soon as the practical difficulties have been overcome.

REVIEWS AND SHORT NOTICES

ANCIENT

THE DEFENCE OF SUPERIOR ORDERS IN ROMAN LAW. (An Inaugural Lecture). By David Daube. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1956. 24 pp. 2s. 6d.

FORMS OF ROMAN LEGISLATION. By David Daube. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1956. 111 pp. 21s.

In his inaugural lecture the Regius Professor of Civil Law at Oxford has not confined himself to either the 'Roman' or the 'legal' aspects of his title. Any analytical or historical examination of this subject must show that obedience to superior orders creates no problem when the orders are both legal and moral, but produces a kind of schizophrenia when the orders are not legal and/or are not moral. Nor is that the end of the permutations, for there may still be a conflict in the actor's mind if he is torn between more than one loyalty or if he receives different orders from different authorities. So Professor Daube has introduced his subject by referring to the need of Orestes to choose between the word of Apollo and the menace of the Eumenides, of the Danaides to choose between the command of their father and the claims of Aphrodite, and of Antigone and Ismene between Creon's prohibition and the laws of religion. In dealing with Roman law he is more concerned with the juristic analysis of the plea of superior orders. Is it a complete denial of liability? Or does the defendant admit his guilt but plead other facts as a justification? Professor Daube examines the rhetorical theories and then the law. He holds that the conflicts were first probed in connection with the surrender of subordinates, both in private law and in international relations. He concludes by pointing out that in the Middle Ages the problem appeared in a new form, resulting from Jewish and Christian experience as a minority in the state. 'Jews and Christians', he writes, 'had to work out for any possible situation exactly how much might be rendered to Cæsar, and what were the consequences if you rendered to him what was God's.'

His book on *Forms of Roman Legislation* is a bold attempt to apply principles of behaviourism to the analysis of phrases and grammatical forms used in Roman legal sources. His arguments, clearly stated, are ingenious and usually, but not always, convincing. Is it possible to deduce historical inferences from the words used? Or must the historical circumstances in which the words were used shed their light on the forms adopted? The problem is as insoluble as that of the chicken and the egg. If we are considering the forms used in *responsa*, *edicta*, or *senatusconsulta*, we cannot be unmindful of the fact that the 'legislative' authority of these sources varied at different periods. Thus, jurists of the classical age and even earlier, conscious perhaps of their function as potential *juris conditores*, may well have used *oportet* as a sufficiently

intermediate word between 'must' and 'may'. The self-conscious legislator, not yet sure of his position or of the reception which may await the law he propounds, may well say 'It is the right thing to do' instead of 'You must do'. One of the most fascinating arguments used by the author is to be found on pp. 93-7, where he contends that the imperatives in the edict of the *ædiles* derive from the treatises on husbandry and particularly from Cato's *de Agricultura*.

University College, London

RAPHAEL POWELL

THE JUNIOR OFFICERS OF THE ROMAN ARMY IN THE REPUBLICAN PERIOD.

A STUDY ON SOCIAL STRUCTURE. By Jaakko Suolahti. Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedekatemia. 1955. 440 pp. Mk. 1.500.

Roman officers during the Republic normally came from the upper section of society. The senior officers were always senators, either magistrates, promagistrates or ex-magistrates (*legati*). The junior officers (military tribunes and prefects, together with the less important *duoviri navales*) were seldom senators and normally belonged either to the eighteen equestrian centuries or to the equestrian Order in its wider sense; some, especially younger members of senatorial families, later reached the Senate, others remained in the equestrian Order. As military service was compulsory until the last century of the Republic and formed a necessary qualification for an official career, young men who were ambitious for office naturally started their *cursus* as junior officers, who were partly elected by the people and partly appointed by the commander. Besides offering senators' sons a way to fame, these preliminary offices also afforded new men and new *gentes* the chief channel by which to penetrate into the exclusive senatorial class. A study of their social structure and of its development therefore throws light on the composition of the senatorial class as well as its recruitment from the equestrian order below; and since the Roman upper class was recruited from the rural aristocracy, the local origin of the junior officers and of their *gentes* must form an essential element in any such enquiry.

To this formidable task a young Finnish scholar has turned his attention. Historians will be grateful that he has written in English—and with good success, although one may suspect that if he had used his own language he might have been enabled usefully to reduce the bulk of the work. A preliminary task was to list with relevant data all the known junior officers; these are placed in an Appendix and number 285. Other appendices list the military tribunes and prefects in chronological order. Since the 285 known officers represent little over one per cent of all those who served between 509 B.C. and A.D. 14, one basic difficulty at once becomes apparent: to what extent can they form a valid basis for statistical presentation? Suolahti is fully conscious of this problem and the possible distortions it may involve, and puts forward his conclusions with caution and modesty. Another difficulty is methodological. He has tackled this by applying a similar scheme first to the tribunes and then to the prefects: after considering their functions and privileges he examines (a) their social origin (e.g. whether patrician, or from the plebeian nobility, or from lower senatorial or equestrian *gentes*; 24 statistical tables summarize the changes in six chronological periods of development), (b) their local origin, illustrated with two maps, and (c) the value of the office in promoting careers. It is not possible to summarize here

his analysis, which ends with a picture of a decline in the social status of the body of junior officers with corresponding repercussions on the geographical recruiting area of its members. But if, because of our lack of evidence, some doubt must necessarily attach to some of his conclusions, he is to be congratulated upon the laborious task of having collected the material together and for having attempted to squeeze so much evidence from it.

King's College, London

H. H. SCULLARD

RECENT ARCHÆOLOGICAL EXCAVATIONS IN BRITAIN. Edited by R. L. S. Bruce-Mitford. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul. 1956. xxiv + 310 pp. 42s.

Authoritative accounts of a number of selected excavations are brought together in this book. The editor does not claim that they do more than 'represent' developments in this field, and it must be admitted that there are some odd gaps in his selection. No excavations are included, for example, from Wales, the mainland of Scotland, the English midlands and the archæologically prolific shires of Wessex. But an editor cannot always choose his contributors, and the fault is one of title, not of aim or content, for his book will undoubtedly succeed in drawing attention to the remarkable advances made in British archæology since the end of the Second World War. Professor J. G. D. Clark describes his notable excavation at Star Carr which located and revealed traces of a Mesolithic community of the eighth millennium B.C. Mr. R. R. Clarke describes, by contrast, the accidental discovery at Snettisham of 'the largest concentration so far known of precious metals from Iron Age Britain'. Sir Mortimer Wheeler gives a masterly account of his excavation at Stanwick, arguing that the great fortress there was the site of the last Brigantian stand against the Romans, and bringing together archæology and history—always a difficult task—in a way that is at once convincing and spectacular. Professor I. A. Richmond breathes life into the cult of Mithras and describes the excavation of the Mithraic temple at Carrawburgh. Lt.-Col. G. W. Meates describes the Roman villa at Lullingstone. Professor W. F. Grimes outlines the results of a strenuous seven-year campaign on bomb-damaged sites in London. Mr. Brian Hope-Taylor relates his excavation of the motte at Abinger to the general problems posed by these common but hitherto archæologically neglected structures. The editor describes his important excavation of 'A Dark-Age Settlement at Mawgan Porth, Cornwall', and Mr. J. R. C. Hamilton describes the amazing archæological complex at Jarlshof, Shetland, where occupations range from the second millennium B.C. to modern times. Mr. J. G. Hurst describes what is happening at Wharram Percy and draws attention to the great opportunities presented by the study of deserted medieval villages. A chapter on the Sutton Hoo Ship-burial by Mr. C. W. Phillips, modest, intimate and stimulating, recaptures the urgency that surrounded perhaps the greatest archæological discovery of the century, on the eve and under the menacing shadow of the Second World War. Dr. J. K. S. St. Joseph surveys some recent results of photography from the air and clearly indicates the increasing contribution of air reconnaissance to archaeology. The volume, which is illustrated, ends with a short but useful note on the law and practice of Treasure Trove.

Historians will not complain at the chronological balance of the excavations selected for description. Only one chapter, that on Star Carr, is

altogether remote from their interests, but so lucid is the author's exposition of aims, problems, methods and interpretation that even those who are not entranced by Mesolithic fragments will be absorbed by this brilliant demonstration that excavation at its best is not an unscientific hit-or-miss affair. In most of the chapters the emphasis is on method. This is important because an understanding of archæological method is frequently lacking among both historians and the general reading public. Professed archæologists will be pleased to have short readable summaries of nearly a dozen excavations, and more than pleased to have the first report on the excavation at Mawgan Porth and the first official summary of archæological results disinterred from bomb-damaged London. The chapter on London provides a mass of information for the student of Roman Britain and not a little for students of later periods. There is, for example, the Saxon church of St. Bride, with its later architectural history competently disentangled. There is also 'Bastion No. 14', which upon examination raised again the possibility that some of the existing additions to London's defences may have been erected in the reign of King Alfred (though not in 883 as is stated). Slips are remarkably few, but on one page the victor of Hingston Down is said to be 'Edgar' and Athelstan is described as 'Alfred the Great's son'. Errors of this kind would be unfortunate if they led historians to suspect that the archæological statements in the book are equally in need of correction. But these minor blemishes should be attributed to hasty or careless proof-checking, not to lack of accurate historical information.

University of St. Andrews

F. T. WAINWRIGHT

The series of 'Ancient Peoples and Places', edited by Dr. Glyn Daniel, has been inaugurated with *PERU* by G. H. S. Bushnell and *THE SCYTHIANS* by Tamara Talbot Rice (London: Thames and Hudson. 1957. 207 and 255 pp. 21s. each). The volumes are well produced and finely illustrated. They present the results of archæological research in a clear and readable manner to the layman.

The attention of those who are interested in classical history and of educationalists generally should be drawn to the translation, unfortunately not a good one, of the third edition of Professor H. J. Marrou's important survey of classical education from Homeric times to the appearance of Christian schools, *A HISTORY OF EDUCATION IN ANTIQUITY* (London: Sheed and Ward 1956. xviii + 466 pp. 42s.).

MEDIEVAL

HISTOIRE GÉNÉRALE DES CIVILIZATIONS: TOME III LE MOYEN AGE. Edited by E. Perroy. Paris: Presses Universitaires. 1955. 681 pp. 3300 fr.

This volume, weighty in more respects than one, extends in time from Constantine to Columbus, and in space from Japan to Ireland. It differs from all English surveys, of which the *Shorter Cambridge Medieval History* may be taken as the latest and most representative, in two important respects. The first is the inclusion of the civilizations of Asia in their own right and in their own

homes; the second is the abandonment of any attempt at a firmly based factual and political outline in favour of a flowing interpretation of societies, movements and trends which presupposes a knowledge of events and of the rise and fall of dynasties.

In the event, the achievement of a single design has proved unattainable. A historian can only interpret and criticize what is thoroughly familiar to himself and at least partially so to his readers, and few Europeans, either as writers or readers, can have an equal familiarity with the Asian, Byzantine and Western civilizations. In consequence, the chapters dealing with the East do not break into life; the effort to absorb the information is too exhausting, and our ignorance of all but long-term changes stands between us and any actuality of perception. Only when Islam is absorbing the Greek and Persian cultures, or the Turks are impinging upon the Greek empire, does this division of the book live. It is to the chapters on Christendom that we must therefore look. Here the start is slow. The sections on the decline of the Roman empire move slowly, and do little more than present yet another survey of recent findings; more use could well have been made of the new archæology of Gaul and Scandinavia, and of the recent literature on the religious and political thought of the age. We have, in fact, to read more than two hundred pages before the book suddenly flashes into life with the adolescence of Europe in the early eleventh century. Thenceforward the attention is held to the end, and flags only in a single chapter on the Mongols. Our attention is held because the writers are throughout striking upon the familiar events and movements with the dialectic of their interpretation. This is, on the whole, an economic one: not, it need scarcely be said, Marxist, but still an interpretation of social and intellectual changes in terms of economic and demographical findings and trends, rather than an analysis on the familiar pattern of institutions and movements of thought. The introduction of the water-mill and a stronger plough, for instance, are the levers that set in motion the whole process of revival in Europe: as more land is cultivated more intensively, population rises, money moves, industry develops, society changes. Throughout we are looking at curves of population and shifts of industries and markets rather than at political designs or constitutional developments. The old solid centre of history, in fact, is taken for granted, and we move either on the economic level or on the high level of the artist's interpretation of the world.

This is not to say that institutions and constitutions are ignored. All the contributors to this part of the volume are aware of the various fields of history, and with M. Perroy as editor as well as contributor we may be sure that England and the work of English scholars is not neglected. Nevertheless, it remains true that kings and wars and treaties are mentioned in passing, if at all, and that the reader who came to this book without a previous knowledge of medieval history might indeed find it attractive and stimulating to read, but would be quite unable to get behind the broad picture to the kings and popes and courts and cities that must in the last resort serve as the warp on which the threads are woven.

The method employed is seen best, perhaps, in the chapters on the eleventh, twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Here, most of us have been brought up on kings' reigns and battles and papal controversies and the growth of parliaments and laws, and it is a new experience to stand back from all this

and to watch the changing economic and intellectual and artistic background. With the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries the method is less satisfying. The upward sweep to a climax is at least partially true of the earlier age, but the catastrophic view of the fourteenth century as one of pestilence, recession, frustration and destruction is not so satisfying, and it is surprising, in a volume in many ways so balanced and *nuancé*, to find oneself ending on a note of triumphant humanism, with printing and Columbus opening the door to a brave new world. The early harbingers and tokens of great changes, and the massive if tardy survivals of medieval ways of thought long after 1500, are alike obscured.

In such a large and variegated volume it is impossible to avoid small inaccuracies, and equally impossible to catalogue them. St. Benedict was not a man of education nor had his Rule a military spirit, and the religious orders in general receive rather less than their due of space, as do also the great scholastics and canonists. On p. 423 the nationalistic aims of the English monarchy *vis-à-vis* the pope are exaggerated, while the disruptive influence of Marsilius and Ockham in their different spheres is minimized. In another field manuscript illumination is almost ignored, and the name of Dunstable does not occur in the pages on music.

The bibliography is brief, with a somewhat erratic selection of English, and an almost complete absence of German, books; there is (somewhat unexpectedly) a fairly adequate index of names; the lengthy tables of comparative dates are probably not worth the space they occupy. There are above all forty-eight excellently chosen and beautifully reproduced photographic plates, many of them showing unfamiliar subjects which, though they bear little or no relation to the adjacent text, do more than pages of writing could do to bring the past of Europe and Asia, with all its visions of beauty, to the reader's mind.

Peterhouse, Cambridge

M. D. KNOWLES

A HISTORY OF EARLY MEDIEVAL EUROPE, 476 TO 911. By Margaret Deanesly. London: Methuen. 1956. xii + 620 pp. 30s.

Professor Deanesly prefaces this volume, which at long last completes Methuen's History of Europe, with an admission that she has been selective and has surrendered to some extent to the temptation to give most space to what has interested her most. This, of course, must not be taken to imply that there are extensive omissions. No salient problem goes without discussion, and 'the political backbone, the succession of events' in each quarter of the crowded canvas of early medieval Europe commands her attention. What it does mean, in the first place, is that some parts of the canvas receive more attention than others. Visigothic and Islamic Spain, the Celtic and Scandinavian fringes and the Slav peoples of east-central Europe each receive their proportion of consideration; but Byzantium, Italy and the Frankish lands receive much more (the history of the Carolingian empire alone occupies over one-third of the book). This balance sometimes makes the histories of peripheral peoples so condensed as to be hard reading; but it has the advantage of permitting a more spacious treatment of the main centres in which medieval civilization emerged, and makes this something more than merely another textbook. This derives, moreover, from a second feature of it. It is as much concerned with the ancestry of medieval European culture and institu-

tions as with the succession of events. To this end, Professor Deanesly has put a most impressive range of sources under contribution: not merely annals, records and literature but also the arts and architecture, the symbolism and the ceremonies of the civilizations of early medieval times. We can turn to her book and know we will find something about the types and significance of the churches built in Lombard Italy; about Carolingian music and the Carolingian minuscule; about the methods and objects of forgery in the generation which produced the Pseudo-Isidore and the False Capitularies. The same breadth is displayed in her use of contemporary writers. They are not treated merely as 'sources'. Cassiodorus, Gregory of Tours, St. Augustine, Bede, Alcuin, Raban Maur, Gottschalk emerge as human beings in their own right whose lives and thoughts are significant for the character of their times. This extensive range of problems to which Professor Deanesly directs attention and the no less extensive range of evidence brought to illumine them make those parts of her book least concerned with 'the succession of events' unusually helpful for advancing our understanding of the mind of early medieval times.

In face of the evident merits of this book, it may seem querulous to raise points of criticism. At the same time, in view of its inevitable audience amongst students and general readers, two suggestions might possibly be taken into account when a future edition is projected. Though a good historical atlas is an indispensable adjunct to the study of medieval European history, some convenience might be served by the provision of rather more and rather better maps to illustrate the political narrative of the volume. Secondly, there are in the text occasional quotations, etc., from modern authors, the source of which is not always easily identified. In chapter 27, for instance, reference is made to F. Wormald, L. Levillain and Wallace-Hadrill, but not one of these names appears in the chapter bibliography. We have to track down Levillain in the bibliographies for chapters 15 and 16, Wallace-Hadrill to chapters 2 and 4, and a casual glance does not reveal Wormald at all. For a book which will arouse in many a desire to pursue further the themes with which it is concerned, it should be easier for the inexperienced and those unfamiliar with the literature of the period to discover what are relevant and important authorities. If this is a criticism of a detail of presentation, however, it is only necessary to make it because this is a book of unusual and distinctive quality.

St. John's College, Cambridge

EDWARD MILLER

CHRISTIANITY AND THE STATE IN THE LIGHT OF HISTORY. By T. M. Parker.

London: Black. 1955. 178 pp. 21s.

'There is always a problem posed by the fact that Christianity claims to be a supernatural society living in the same world and under the same conditions as the natural society of mankind.' In these very readable and scholarly Bampton lectures Mr. Parker gives an account of the historical relations between Christianity and secular society down to the end of the sixteenth century. Quite rightly, he begins with a discussion of the Jewish attitude towards kingship. He then considers the outlook of the Church towards the pagan Roman Empire, and the effects on the problem of Church and State caused by Constantine's conversion. In the East, where the Emperor's office was regarded as in some way the earthly reflection of the divine monarchy,

earthly and secular functions were combined. This was not altered by the fact that on specific religious issues, notably during the Monophysite and Iconoclast controversies, the Emperor might have to give way. In the West, not only could the barbarian kings make no claims comparable to those of the Byzantine emperor, but the tradition of opposition by the Church to Imperial pretensions was much stronger. The author describes the causes of the conflict between Empire and Papacy and he is severe on the thirteenth-century Popes, including Innocent III. The cumulative 'moral suicide' of the Papacy of this period paves the way for the break up of Catholic Europe. Moreover, 'the doctrine of the Mystical Body had been obscured in the Middle Ages by hierarchical sacerdotalism'. A concluding lecture deals with the ecclesiology of the Reformation and the beginnings of the modern conception of the Church as a voluntary society within the State.

This work is so good, and within the limits laid down by the author so complete, that one can only underline a few of the main ideas. Clearly, to the historian one of the keys to the lasting problem of Church and State has been the lack of any idea of divine and therefore of absolute kingship in Judaism. As Josephus (*Contra Apionem* ii. 16) pointed out, Jewry constituted a theocracy, and one in which priestly power overrode the secular. One misses, however, the important text from the *Testament of Judah* (ed. Charles) xxi. 4, 'As the heaven is higher than the earth, so is the priesthood of God higher than the earthly kingdom.' In slightly different terms, this is the theme of the Western attitude towards the State, expounded by Ambrose of Milan and the eleventh-century Popes. Perhaps, too, the author has underestimated the links which bound the early Church to the Hellenistic synagogue even as late as the end of the second century. The origins of the attitude of the Roman authorities towards the Church may owe less to the demands of good order characterized by the use of the magistrates' power of *coercitio* than to their hostility towards conversion to Judaism, when this involved open rejection of the Greco-Roman gods and civilization. The real precedents for the persecutions were probably the anti-Jewish pogroms which broke out in the cities of the Hellenistic East, and the efforts made by the Hellenistic kings to secure actual abjurations of Judaism on pain of death: the Jewish *nomen* could be as fatal to its converts as the Christian (see, for instance, Origen, *Contra Celsum*, ii. 13). Does not Eusebius also deserve slightly more favourable treatment? It would be hard to doubt that the views on monarchy expressed in the *Praeparatio Evangelica*, i. 4, and the *De Laude Constantini*, i. 6, stated ideas which were to influence Byzantine thought for many centuries.

These must have been some of the best Bampton Lectures for a very long time, a pleasure to hear and stimulating to read. Their author's range of scholarship is great and there are some apt references to our own times. Mr. Parker has chosen a historical problem of enduring interest, and he has made a lasting contribution to its study. His work will be of great value to patristic scholar, medievalist, and historian of ideas alike.

Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge

W. H. C. FREND

DIE GEBIDEN. By Heinrich Sevin. Munich: for the Author. 1955. 224 pp. Archæological and numismatic discoveries and, to a lesser extent, improved linguistic techniques have in recent decades considerably enlarged the body of material available for the history of the Barbarian Migrations. Much of it,

particularly that part which relates to the lands of eastern Europe, is difficult of access; and there is a very real value in works that, without offering anything that is strictly new, attempt to relate this scattered material to the literary texts that were once the only sources for the history of the Migrations. Herr Sevin sets out to perform this task for the Gepids who, having separated themselves from the main body of the Goths, established themselves in the area between Danube and Carpathians and maintained a more-or-less independent existence there until their destruction or absorption by other migrant peoples in the later sixth century. Careful and conscientious although the work is, it cannot be regarded as a whole-hearted success. In large measure this is due to the particular choice of subject: smaller tribes lend themselves much less easily to separate treatment than, say, the Goths themselves, the Lombards, or any other of the great 'tribal groups'. A distinctive material culture can rarely be attributed to them with any confidence; their earlier history can be written only by accepting as fact the at least partly legendary accounts of later writers; and the subsequent phases of their history which have left any sort of record are usually an integral part of the history of some greater 'tribe' whose own earlier history cannot be entirely ignored. The admirable series of maps with which Herr Sevin illustrates his book, which are particularly useful for the location of archæological find-spots in the Carpatho-Danube region, suggests that an avowedly regional study would have been more valuable than an ostensibly tribal one: the Gepids would then have had their place in the succession of invading peoples without any overstraining of the evidence. It is all the more unfortunate, since it is for this that most historians will turn to the book, that the illustrations (which appear to be drawings from photographs) of brooches and other material remains make it difficult to appreciate their essential characteristics, which are not without importance when their specifically Gepid origin is in question. Historians, however, should certainly not overlook the paragraphs summarizing the little-known evidence for sixth-century coins of Gepid origin, which has a bearing on a number of topics which are currently the subject of considerable debate.

University of Edinburgh

D. A. BULLOUGH

A ROYAL IMPOSTOR—KING SVERRE OF NORWAY. By G. M. Gathorne-Hardy. London: O.U.P. 1956. 305 pp. 42s.

Sverre of Norway has a just claim to rank high among the ablest kings of the twelfth century, and he has been inexplicably neglected by British scholars. Dr. Gathorne-Hardy's book is therefore most welcome, and an author of his established reputation has no need to garnish his work with a romantic title and a sprinkling of rather jocular phrases in order to make it acceptable. It is an extremely interesting book.

Dr. Gathorne-Hardy's account of that troubled period of Norwegian history which lies between the accession of Harald Gille in 1135 and the victory of Magnus Erlingsson in 1177 is the clearest exposition yet written in English of a very complex situation. When he reaches the life of Sverre, the author deals with the campaigns of the Birchlegs in a way that shows that he is thoroughly familiar with the records, and that he has himself a strategist's eye for terrain and a first-rate understanding of guerilla warfare. This part of

the book, except for an occasional passage of unsupported speculation, could hardly have been better written.

The section dealing with Sverre's ecclesiastical policy and his administration is not quite so good. In both fields the Norwegians seem to have been influenced by the Angevin kings of England, and this fact seems to have been unnoticed by Dr. Gathorne-Hardy in spite of his use of contemporary English chronicles. Like Sverre, the English kings never wholly surrendered to 'High Gregorian' ideas about the independence of bishops, and also like him they established a new 'nobility of service' distinct from the old 'nobility of tenure'. No English king, however, justified himself as ably as did Sverre in his 'Speech against the Bishops'. Dr. Gathorne-Hardy is inclined to attribute this manifesto to a learned clerk working under Sverre's directions. But surely a man of Sverre's ability, trained as a priest and born some time after 1140, would have a sufficient knowledge of the text of Gratian to produce at least the rough draft himself? The speech is most unusual and powerful, and deserves a more detailed study.

It must be added that an embassy would hardly have been sent to Rome for the express purpose of obtaining a *forged* bull—the experience of Innocent III showed that such things were only too easily produced in any part of Europe. Moreover I find it much easier to believe in all Sverre's prophetic dreams—for which there are close parallels in other sagas—than in the presence at his court of a learned Dominican in 1194, nearly ten years before the idea of founding an order can have entered Saint Dominic's head. Nevertheless, I hope that a great many readers will enjoy this book as much as I do.

Westfield College, London

ROSALIND HILL

DOCUMENTS RELATING TO THE MANOR AND SOKE OF NEWARK-ON-TRENT (Thoroton Society, Record Series, Vol. XVI, 1955), edited by M. W. Barley with contributions by the late W. H. Stevenson and by Kenneth Cameron, is an excellent co-operative edition of two surveys of the Manor and Soke of Newark-on-Trent made for the Bishop of Lincoln in 1225-31 and 1348-9. Mr. Barley's introduction is especially noteworthy for its treatment of the topography of the town of Newark in the early Middle Ages and for its comments upon early agrarian history. Altogether this is a most valuable document for Danelaw historians.

Loughborough Training College

H. E. HALLAM

The Wiltshire Archæological and Natural History Society is to be congratulated on its volume of *COLLECTANEA* edited by N. J. Williams with a Foreword by T. F. Plucknett (Devizes. 1956. 207 pp. 30s.). The documents concerned belong to the medieval period; they have been splendidly edited with introductions and notes, and will be of great value to local historians. Special mention may be made of 'The Veredictum of Chippenham Hundred, 1281' edited by R. E. Latham and C. A. F. Meekings, which (together with its informative introduction) will be welcomed by all students of the General Eyre, whether Wiltshiremen or not.

The *vulgaria*, collections of exercise proses compiled by schoolmasters to teach their pupils latin, comprise the oldest teaching instruments in our language; but they have also been used by historians to provide a picture of the age,

as seen by contemporaries. A FIFTEENTH-CENTURY SCHOOL BOOK, edited by W. Nelson (London: O.U.P. 1956. xxxi + 106 pp. 25s.), probably in use at Magdalen School, Oxford, at the end of the fifteenth century, provides a delightful and instructive insight into early Tudor education and social life. This is a carefully edited work, marred only by a double system of notes, which is somewhat confusing, and by the price, which will put it out of reach of most students—and their teachers.

EARLY MODERN

TUDOR AND STUART LINCOLN. By J. W. F. Hill. Cambridge University Press. 1956. xiv + 254 pp. 32s. 6d.

In this book Dr. Hill continues the story begun in his *Medieval Lincoln*, and sets his stage by a chapter giving a brilliant sketch of Lincolnshire, rather in the manner of Macaulay, covering the whole of his period. It was a strange, isolated county, though there were courtiers like Hussey, Burleigh and Willoughby who knew that it was not all waterish fen. Still, it lay off the main routes of Tudor England, and London attorneys were careful of advancing money on mortgage in the county.

There is a dualism that differentiates this volume from its predecessor. It would seem that in writing a history of medieval Lincoln, it is possible to keep the focus on the city, but under the Tudors it must move continually from city to county, resting above all on that handful of leading families, Bertie, Willoughby, Wray, Monson and their like, who as justices and deputy lieutenants ran the county and were able to get their own way in the city. Lincoln is not unique in this—if we had similar studies of a dozen Tudor towns, they would all tell much the same story. Was there really a shift of social balance, or was this pressure of the landowning families present in the Middle Ages, only becoming known to us, thanks to the wider variety of sources for municipal history, under the Tudors?

Lincoln, like many other towns, was in the doldrums during this period. It had lost trade to Boston as far back as the fourteenth century; its once-thriving cloth industry had vanished; its main artery of commerce, the Fosdyke, was silted up, and despite various schemes for clearing it out, it was not till 1670 that anything was done. Maitland once remarked that, in borough history, 'we shall have fields and pastures on our hands'. These the mayor and aldermen of Lincoln had, and they had houses and messuages too, for many houses were deserted and ruinous, and it was no easy task to prevent the owners from removing the materials. That the lamentations of the city fathers were not entirely without foundation is shown by the occasional remission or reduction of taxation. The fee farm of £180 which their ancestors had been able to pay in the thirteenth century was now an insupportable burden. Had there really been such a decline in the prosperity of the town or was it just that the burgesses, having long taken for granted the benefits conferred in return for the farm, resented having to pay anything? The author expresses no opinion.

To the city fathers the Reformation appeared to offer a prospect of relief from financial difficulty, of which they tried to take advantage. They sold the plate and took the lands and property of the two civic guilds and joined in the

scramble for monastic and chantry lands, without conspicuous success. They also got three advowsons—not of city churches—and the sites and buildings of most of the redundant parish churches in the city, by promoting an Act of Parliament in 1549 which reduced the number of parishes from about forty to ten. In view of the economic position the sites can hardly have been of much value, but the lead and building materials were worth something. Was this wholesale destruction of churches—a common phenomenon in Tudor towns—a real indication of economic poverty and a rapidly declining population? The author, like most civic historians, seems to think so. But it is possible to exaggerate this aspect. The preamble to the Lincoln act tells us that aforetime these churches had been maintained by the privy tithes of merchants and artificers and the offerings of a multitude of people, and many were now fallen to a mere thirty shillings and curates could not be found. This was probably exaggerated, and in any case a medieval church could be well run on a parish of a hundred houses if each house gave a penny a week. It would pay the average stipend of ten marks and leave something over. By the sixteenth century, even if the income had not been somewhat reduced by loss of houses, the ten-mark stipend was no longer adequate. Under the new act, a cess of 2d. in the pound was set aside for clergy stipends, and by 1700, these were grossly inadequate; yet nobody has suggested a decline in population between 1550 and 1700. Inflation was a far more potent cause of the demolition of medieval city churches than has been realized.

But we must not think of the Reformation in exclusively economic terms. By 1584 there was a strong Puritan faction in the corporation whose bickerings with its opponents called for the intervention of the Council. All this reacted on the ordinary burgess, who could no more ignore predestination and free will than a Russian can ignore Marxism. Indeed, one of the supreme merits of this book is the just balance which the author strikes between the economic and political aspects of the theme. He never forgets that men had to earn a living. He prints a most valuable appendix of corn prices, and traces the various efforts of the corporation to cope with poverty and restore prosperity, but never makes the mistake of thinking that men lived by bread alone.

The book is beautifully illustrated and produced, though there is need for more explanation of the map on p. 12, and the Buck drawing on p. 64 ought to have been touched up before reproduction. Dr. Hill's tendency to assume a greater familiarity with the topography of Lincoln than most of his readers will possess is corrected by two excellent plans.

It only remains to be said that this is local history in the grand manner. An alderman of the city, who has passed the bench, Dr. Hill stands firmly in the great tradition of English local historiography. But this is no mere work of local pietas, for he is also the pupil of Lapsley, and the history of Lincoln, and English local history in general, is the richer for the combination.

University of Hull

F. W. BROOKS

THE ROANOKE VOYAGES 1584-1590. Edited by D. B. Quinn. London: For the Hakluyt Society. Cambridge University Press. 1956. 2 vols. xxxiv + 1004 pp. £6.

In these two volumes Professor Quinn has constructed an impressive memorial to the famous names of Raleigh and Grenville. If only because

they concern the first English attempt to colonize America they are well worth the immense labour involved. The subtitle of the work—'Documents to illustrate the English voyages to North America under the patent granted to Walter Raleigh in 1584'—indicates its scope. It therefore includes the first exploratory voyage of Amadas and Barlowe in 1584; the main colonizing voyage of Grenville in 1585, along with extant accounts of this first colony and of Drake's expedition in 1586 which brought the colonists back to England, as also of Grenville's fruitless relief voyage that year; next, the voyages of 1587 and the planting of the second colony, with the abortive attempts to relieve it in 1588-9; and finally, the voyage of 1590, which failed to discover the lost colony, about whose fate we still remain completely ignorant. The classical accounts of these voyages are in Hakluyt and therefore well-known. They furnish the basis of this collection, though in new, correlated and annotated texts. Supplementing these narratives, Professor Quinn has brought together all the documents he could find on his various themes, making the collection, as he justifiably says, as comprehensive as possible. The search has been very thorough; and while the State Papers and British Museum manuscripts naturally supply the main items, there are many documents from admiralty cases, borough records and other local sources. Two final chapters supplement Miss Wright's important searches in Spanish archives and give us a corpus of documents on Spanish information about the voyages: less informative—it is interesting to note—than their bulk might suggest.

The editor has prefaced the various sections of the work with 'narrative' discussions, thus contributing a series of essays which are invaluable, not only as introductory to the documents that follow, but also in their own right as critical accounts of the voyages in the light of recent research. Here, for example, he makes the point that the adventurers, apart from their main colonizing purpose, seem to have had, as a short-term objective, the idea of establishing a mainland base in North America from which to facilitate privateering and the sea-war against Spain. Throughout, the volumes are annotated with exceptional care and thoroughness, and both here and elsewhere one is constantly impressed by the way in which Professor Quinn has equipped himself for his task. He has explored the area of the settlements, mastered the literature on its flora and fauna and its archæology, and even secured an American scholar to add an appendix on Indian linguistics. The same imaginative breadth of view is shown in his chapter on John White, the artist and cartographer of the voyages, whose drawings he has listed, with annotations to demonstrate how much they can contribute to our knowledge. Indeed, his editorial labours have been monumental. As for the material he has brought together, it is often fascinating and seldom boring. The two volumes deserve to be read through for their own inherent interest.

University College, London

J. E. NEALE

The intensive cultivation of local fields of historical study has nowhere yielded a better harvest than for the Tudor period. We know more about Tudor Southampton than about most English towns of this period, as the result of the scholarly labours of two generations of historians. The latest addition, *THE THIRD BOOK OF REMEMBRANCE OF SOUTHAMPTON*, edited by A. L. Merson (vol. I, 1514-1540, xxxix + 88 pp., vol. II, xvi + 200 pp. University

of Southampton. 1952, 1955. 25s. each), reaches the high level of the best of its predecessors. This remembrance book began life as the financial notes of the town clerk but, happily, soon became much more, namely a rudimentary minute book of the town council. As a result one sees here the formulation of social and economic policy, the licensing of alehouses, the efforts to prevent the drift to the town, the attempt to arrest the decline of trade in the middle of the century, the preparation of the town's defences, the protection of its orphans and generally the increasing complexity of local government. Anyone familiar with county administration of the period cannot fail to be impressed with the much more sophisticated techniques of accountancy and administration, in an advanced urban area like Southampton, as compared with the primitive methods of the shires. These minutes are a fascinating commentary upon the age, while the excellent footnotes of the editor will prove a rewarding quarry to all students of local history. Mr. Merson's work is a model of what scholarly editing should be.

ELIZABETHAN PETERBOROUGH, TUDOR DOCUMENTS, Part III (edited by W. T. Mellows and Daphne H. Gifford. Northants. Rec. Soc. 1956. lix + 205 pp. 25s.), has a no less interesting, but profoundly different story to tell. For Peterborough was—and still is—an anomaly in English urban history. Forming part of the estates of the Bishop of Peterborough, it was an ecclesiastical manor which survived as such, in spite of the Reformation, with a constitution ossified in its medieval form. Hence, as the late W. T. Mellows showed in earlier volumes in this series, the immense difficulties of the city fathers in trying to become masters in their own house. Here we see civic officialdom being grafted upon a manorial structure; but fundamentally it did not change. The protestant Dean and Chapter stood heirs to the departing abbot; and what they had they held. This volume contains the surviving court rolls for the period, an estreat roll of the local court of common pleas and some miscellaneous documents of various dates dealing with the powers and proceedings of the Dean and Chapter. It includes also an account of the funeral of Mary, Queen of Scots and of the incredible sermon delivered on the occasion by the Bishop of Lincoln. The volume was designed as a memorial to Thomas Anthony Mellows, killed in the last war, but it has become a memorial also to his father, W. T. Mellows, the distinguished and devoted historian of Peterborough, whose work upon it is here brought to completion by Miss Daphne H. Gifford.

THE GOSTWICKS OF WILLINGTON AND OTHER STUDIES (Beds. Rec. Soc. 1956. vol. 36. 146 pp. 25s.) is the history of a family rather than a place. John Gostwick, administrative assistant to Thomas Cromwell, was a member of the middling gentry who climbed to wealth and power in the fluid society of mid-Tudor England. His life-story illuminates a significant sector of the community: and if comparable studies existed for a couple of dozen Gostwicks up and down the country, presented and analysed with the same skill and sustained interest as is here done by Mr. H. P. R. Finberg, we should at last draw nearer towards an understanding of how Henry and his ministers went about their business. In view of a current controversy, Mr. Finberg's evidence is of special interest; for he flatly denies that Gostwick made his fortune from buying up dissolved monastic lands on favoured terms. The dissolution found him with 'his fortune already made', chiefly from 'salaries and perquisites, the latter no doubt predominating'. Second to these came

profits from commercial ventures and agricultural leaseholds. The family prospered through a collateral line in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries and for another century held a leading place in the county. But political ambition over-reached itself; and an early eighteenth-century Gostwick found that seven costly election campaigns left him in debt to the tune of nearly £27,000. The family never recovered. Apart from this incident, Mr. Finberg attributes their decline to a failure to extend their interests beyond those of the gentry: 'They had not married wealthy heiresses, nor earned new fortunes in the public service, nor engaged in those commercial enterprises from which the Russells and other members of the nobility derived an appreciable part of their wealth'. There are also some short articles in this excellent volume, including a transcript and note by Professor A. G. Dickens on Sir John Gostwick's advice on estate and household management in the 1540's.

It is a pleasure also to welcome the private enterprise of Mr. L. S. Snell in his provision of DOCUMENTS TOWARDS A HISTORY OF THE REFORMATION IN CORNWALL. The first two in the series, THE CHANTRY CERTIFICATES FOR CORNWALL (Cornish Church Histories, B.M. Dinas, London, 1955. vi + 57 pp. 10s. 6d.) and THE EDWARDIAN INVENTORIES OF CHURCH GOODS FOR CORNWALL (xxiv + 70 pp. 10s. 6d.), give a lively picture of a dissolving way of life. Mr. Snell has handled with skill and imagination some highly technical material and what he has done promises well for the forthcoming collection on the dissolution of the monasteries. Dr. C. A. Ritchie's THE ECCLESIASTICAL COURTS OF YORK (Arbroath: The Herald Press, 1956. 245 pp. 21s.) is a helpful guide through the maze of the ecclesiastical administration and legal system of the northern province and sheds light also on the social life of the time. One is, however, unable to rely in detail upon a book which is issued with no list of contents, in which chapters 7 and 8 are described elsewhere as chapters 8 and 9 and which has so defective an index.

University College, London JOEL HURSTFIELD

It has been suggested that the virtue of absolute monarchy can best be tested in the colonial field, where it had a relatively free hand to create. Can his colonial policy be used, similarly, to interpret the intentions of our own Charles II? This question seems to underlie Dr. A. P. Thornton's fresh examination of the fluid and somewhat baffling relations between the youthful British West Indies and the successive organs of Crown policy-making in WEST-INDIA POLICY UNDER THE RESTORATION (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1956. viii + 280 pp. 35s.). His answer, briefly, is that 'overmuch can be made of the work of Empire-building in the Restoration era'. He makes a timely point in showing that the councils and committees of the 1660's were too unwieldy, heavily burdened, and uninformed to achieve the centralized control that has been claimed for them, whatever was accomplished by the diplomats at Madrid. Even in the West Indies, which fell more directly under Crown control in these years than any other colonies except Virginia, the all-out assertion of imperial authority came later, especially when the 'Intendency'—suggestive term—of colonial business was entrusted to the Lords Committee of Trade in 1675. The most solid results appear to have been a more vigorous fisc coupled with the enforcement of trade regulations. The powers of governors, mostly men of character and inclined to side with the

islands against Whitehall, were diminished and even by-passed, especially by the multiplication of royal patentees. The lack of a really confidential relationship between the Crown and its governors, indeed, must go far to explain the successful resistance of the island assemblies to constitutional interference. Mr. Thornton's explanation places too much emphasis on irritation over inadequate naval defences. But it is hard to make sense of colonial politics without a deeper familiarity with the structure of colonial society and economics than he reveals. His account of Anglo-Spanish relations would doubtless also have gained from use of the Spanish sources. His book is most valuable as an intelligent and thorough study of administrative method and for its many flashes of insight into the nature of late Stuart government.

Keble College, Oxford J. S. BROMLEY

IN AN ORGAN FOR THE SULTAN (London: Putnam. 1956. 272 pp. 21s.), Stanley Mayes has told the story of the journey of Thomas Dallam with the extraordinary clock-organ he had built as a present from Elizabeth I to the Sultan in 1599. Basing himself primarily on Dallam's diary, Mr. Mayes has also drawn on much other contemporary material. The book is well illustrated, and if, as the author modestly says, it is no more than a footnote to history, it is a conscientious, well-written and illuminating one.

It is not often that a book becomes a classic within a decade of its appearance, as has happened in the case of Professor H. C. Darby's *THE DRAINING OF THE FENS* (Cambridge University Press. 1956. xix + 314 pp. 35s.). The second edition retains the excellent maps, diagrams and illustrations of the 1940 issue, along with an extended epilogue and bibliography.

It is a quarter of a century since the late E. F. Heckscher's *MERCANTILISM* was first published in Sweden. Provocative as it then was—and still is—it remains unsurpassed in its field, and its reappearance, revised by E. F. Söderlund (London: Allen and Unwin. 1956. 2 vols. 474 + 423 pp. 65s.), will be welcomed. The changes—many merely verbal—are neither considerable in quantity nor, except in one instance, of marked significance. The one major revision occurs in the central chapter on 'Mercantilism as a System of Power', in which, assimilating the criticisms of Jacob Viner, Heckscher adopts the view that not merely power but also commerce and welfare were the complementary goals of the mercantilist.

A. J. T.

LATER MODERN

ENGLISH POLITICS IN THE EARLY EIGHTEENTH CENTURY. By Robert Walcott. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1956. viii + 291 pp. 18s.

SIR ROBERT WALPOLE. THE MAKING OF A STATESMAN. By J. H. Plumb. London: Cresset Press. 1956. xv + 407 pp. 30s.

Nowadays the belief that the politics of the early eighteenth century can be described as a struggle between Whigs and Tories is no longer common among serious students of history. One of those who have contributed to its present rarity is Professor Walcott, whose book develops, with some modifica-

tions, a theme he had propounded in an essay published in 1941. Study of the lives of individual M.P.s has enabled him to arrange them in various categories, according to a pattern now becoming familiar. What he has to say about the composition of William's last, and of Anne's first, Parliament is of undoubted value. The pains needed to arrive at these results were great and have assuredly not been wasted. Everybody engaged upon close study of the period will often need to refer to Professor Walcott's book. However, some of his readers may regret that he has paid so little attention to the controversies of the period; it could be argued that in the time of Anne, as well as earlier and later, principles were important with many politicians, even if they did not always live up to their own principles. It might be asked whether one can understand the period without going carefully into the question of occasional conformity, then a burning question, and also other questions connected with it. Professor Walcott himself notes that the motion to tack an Occasional Conformity, to a Land Tax, Bill split the 'Finch and Hyde-Seymour connections'. His conclusion is that the pull of the Court was with many more powerful than the pull of party. Another view would be that many who favoured the Occasional Conformity Bill thought tacking unconstitutional and voted accordingly. That M.P.s were interested in constitutional matters there is abundant evidence. Studies such as that of Professor Walcott cannot tell us all that we need to know, if we are to understand English politics.

One of the politicians who began to make his mark in the first years of the eighteenth century was Robert Walpole. In 1798 William Coxe published a life of Walpole that is still indispensable, if in many ways out-of-date. Dr. Plumb has now gone a long way towards filling a gap in historical literature with the first volume of a scholarly biography. He tells us things that Coxe did not know, as well as things that he did not see fit to mention. He writes with that sympathy that is requisite in a biographer, but with a sympathy untainted by adulation. Indeed, his treatment of Walpole's income and expenditure—one of the novel features of his book—shows that Walpole was very eager to make money and not very particular in his methods of making it. Unfortunately the sources do not enable Dr. Plumb to tell us where much of the money came from. Conjecture, though possibly dangerous, is inevitable. Perhaps Dr. Plumb tends to exaggerate the profits of the Pay Office, which was not in time of peace that gold mine it could be in time of war, and it was in peace time that Walpole held it. Walpole, again, may have indulged in graft—he was not always above it—but evidence that he did so on any great scale is lacking as yet. Perhaps he made large sums by speculation, using any information he could get. Walpole's financial judgement, however, was not always good; he lost his head during the South Sea Bubble. Nor was it his financial genius that saved the country after the Bubble had burst. Dr. Plumb's treatment of the Bubble and its aftermath is one of the best things in his book. Granted that, as he amply acknowledges, he owes much to Professor Realey's monograph, yet that monograph is not often found in English libraries and, moreover, Dr. Plumb has added a good deal of his own. Henceforth undergraduates will have no excuse for talking nonsense about the Bubble.

On the other hand, Dr. Plumb does not go as deeply as might have been expected into certain major problems. Granted that Walpole wanted to pay

off old scores, it seems probable that the impeachments of 1715 were due to something more than vindictiveness; that they were designed to diminish, if not to avert, a very real threat to the Protestant Succession and that they achieved their end. Perhaps, indeed, Dr. Plumb does not give sufficient weight to Walpole's very real devotion to the Protestant Succession. Walpole certainly served that cause well when he brought about a reconciliation, superficial though it was, between George I and his heir. More might have been said about this matter. Very much more, too, might have been said about another topic. Without a more thorough analysis of international relations than Dr. Plumb has provided, British history during this period is hard to understand. The period, indeed, of George I's reign has attracted much attention from writers of monographs during the last sixty years or so; between them these writers have elucidated many problems, though something remains to be done; the Hanoverian archives, for instance, do not seem to have been adequately explored, and it may be that they contain useful information about the Whig schism in 1716-17. But even without researches in foreign archives—and nobody can go everywhere and read all possibly relevant manuscripts—a biographer of Walpole should be able to show how Walpole and his British contemporaries envisaged Britain's relations with other powers. There was then more interest in, and knowledge of, international affairs than is nowadays generally thought. One of the interesting points Dr. Plumb makes is that Walpole could at least read French—that he could speak it is scarcely proved. The vicissitudes in Walpole's career during 1716-21 cannot be adequately explained merely as the result of intrigues and animosities; there was something more behind them. But if the present reviewer feels impelled to make these criticisms and is restrained only by lack of space from discussing other debatable points, he also feels bound to record that the pleasure he got from the first volume of Walpole's latest biography makes him look forward to the second.

University College, London

MARK A. THOMSON

THOMAS HODGSKIN, by Élie Halévy (London: Benn. 1956. 197 pp. 18s.), has been excellently translated with a useful introduction by A. J. Taylor. It is an important work both for students of Halévy and for nineteenth-century British historians. Halévy wrote it in 1903 after he had finished his study of Benthamite philosophy and before he had passed to a more detailed examination of nineteenth-century Britain: it was, as Mr. Taylor says, an appendix to the *Growth of Philosophic Radicalism* and a by-product of Halévy's interest in the origins of socialism. Stimulating and perceptive, it is essentially the work of a philosopher rather than of a historian. Hodgskin was a central figure in the story of the dilemma of Utilitarianism just as he was in the story of the emergence of a new socialist economics, and Halévy was fascinated by the fact that he pointed forward both to Herbert Spencer and to Marx. There are limitations in the essay—it leaves a good deal out, deals inadequately with Hodgskin's intellectual connections with Thompson, takes the Place Papers as too firm a source, and does not explore fully the history of some of the institutions, such as the mechanics institutes, which are discussed in relation to Hodgskin—but it has long deserved a translation, and its interpretation of Hodgskin, very much Halévy's own, must be taken seriously by all students of British political thought. It is easy to see from this slender

book how and why Halévy went on to become such a great historian not only of ideas but of moods and movements.

University of Leeds

ASA BRIGGS

THE GREAT FAMINE. Edited by R. Dudley Edwards and T. Desmond Williams. Dublin: Published for the Irish Committee of Historical Sciences by Browne and Nolan. 1957. xvi + 517 pp. 30s.

The Irish famine was the greatest social disaster experienced by any western European state in the nineteenth century. Out of a total population in 1845 of something like $8\frac{1}{2}$ million, probably over half a million died of hunger and disease, and another million and a half emigrated, during the famine years. When the 1851 census was taken, it was seen that the population of Ireland had fallen by twenty per cent, the rural classes by twenty-five per cent. The cottier class had almost disappeared. Of the 134,000 peasant holdings under one acre that existed in 1841, only 36,000 remained ten years later. From that point the Irish population steadily declined, until by 1911 it had almost reached its present level of four and a third million. Socially, economically, and perhaps politically also, the famine was the great divide in modern Irish history.

This volume of essays edited by Professors Dudley Edwards and Desmond Williams is the first detailed modern study of that disaster and is all the more welcome for having been conceived and carried out by Irish scholars. As the editors observe in their preface, it is a symposium by a group of specialists, not a comprehensive and definitive history. In different ways the book is both more and less than the title indicates. The chapters by Mr. McDowell on government and society in Ireland before the famine, and by Mr. Green on Irish agriculture, are general surveys covering much of the early nineteenth century; while Mr. MacDonagh gives a wide survey of the overseas emigration and its effects. The more technically relevant sections are the chapters on the immediate results of the famine on Irish and English politics by Mr. Nowlan, on the organization of relief by Mr. O'Neill, and on the medical history of the famine by Sir William MacArthur. The contributions do not, however, exhaust all the aspects of the famine which deserve examination. The editors themselves point to the need for further research both into the impact of the famine on the structure of Irish society and into the ultimate consequences of the disaster on Anglo-Irish relations. To which might be added by way of suggestion an enquiry into the reactions of continental opinion, and a rather more detailed analysis of the effects of the crisis on English politics than was allowed by the scope of Mr. Nowlan's essay. But to wait for all the gaps to be filled would mean a long wait indeed, and the appearance of this book is more likely to stimulate than to delay further work on the subject.

On this side of St. George's Channel it may seem curious to many readers that emphasis is laid more than once on the good intentions of the British government during the famine. Thus the editors conclude that 'human limitations and timidity dominate the story of the Great Famine, but of great and deliberately imposed evil in high positions of responsibility there is little evidence'. To acquit men like Peel and Russell of deliberately inflicting evil on the Irish people may seem in English eyes something worse than a superfluity. But this is a book written by Irish scholars for a nation to whom the

famine appears as one of the last, and possibly the greatest, of the disasters suffered under English rule. Not for nothing is the last essay (by Mr. McHugh) entitled 'The famine in Irish oral tradition'. So far from the verdict of acquittal being superfluous, it is perhaps a necessary preliminary to a true assessment in the Irish historical consciousness of why that disaster came about. Any acquaintance with such popular Irish histories as Gavan Duffy's or Mitchel's will show the weight of assertion and emotion on the other side. A 'million and a half of men, women, and children, were carefully, prudently, and peacefully *slain* by the English Government', wrote Mitchel in his *History of Ireland* (1869). 'This was strictly an *artificial* famine . . . The Almighty, indeed, sent the potato blight, but the English created the famine.' If the present volume can finally dispel that bitter and passionate charge, it will have done much.

In a work constructed from several contributions, some overlapping and inconsistencies are to be expected, but in fact very few obtrude themselves. There is an excellent bibliography, though it is odd that de Beaumont's classic book finds no place in it. And one could wish that the footnotes, at least, if not the source-references, had been placed underneath the text and not at the end. But what outweighs any minor defects is the detailed scholarship on which all the essays are based and the impartial spirit in which they are written. Mr. O'Neill, indeed, refers on one occasion with what seems gratuitous cynicism to Peel 'toying with the idea of using the potato failure as an excuse to cover a reversal of policy', but it is the same contributor who pays a tribute to the minister's success in dealing with the first onset of the famine and quotes from the *Freeman's Journal* the remark that 'no man died of famine during his administration and it is a boast of which he might well be proud'. Interesting, and in many respects original, as the essays are, there is of course some appearance of disconnectedness between them. But an admirable preface by the editors goes far to unite and summarize the whole. This may not be a history of the famine but any history of the famine that may be written in future has now a solid foundation on which to rest. Meanwhile a long-felt need of both Irish and English historians has been met.

University of St. Andrews

NORMAN GASH

Mr. Ian Anstruther's *I PRESUME. STANLEY'S TRIUMPH AND DISASTER* (London: Geoffrey Bles. 1956. x + 207 pp. 18s.) is a sensitive attempt to show how John Rowland, Welsh bastard, became H. M. Stanley, the American journalist who 'found' Livingstone and returned home to discover that his success-story was soured by a hostile reception from envious Britons and by the jealousy of his employer, James Gordon Bennett. The ridicule he received meant that, for the rest of his life, Stanley 'carried a chip on his shoulder' which influenced all his subsequent activities. Mr. Anstruther's book may be recommended as a serious and readable study, based on primary sources, which contributes not only to the revision of the traditional anti-Stanley attitude which is now in progress but also to the history of Anglo-American relations: for the ill-mannered reception of Stanley in 1872 followed the indignant British reaction to the award of the *Alabama* Tribunal. Stanley's response to his illegitimacy reminds one of Lawrence of Arabia—though Mr. Anstruther is unlikely to stir up a storm in a teacup like that which Mr. Richard Aldington's handling of the more delicate facts of T. E.

Lawrence's life provoked. For the historian, *I Presume's* major fault is the over-succinctness of its appendix and references and the insufficiently systematic presentation of its sources.

University of Edinburgh

GEORGE SHEPPERSON

IMPERIAL POLICY AND SOUTH AFRICA, 1902-10. By G. B. Pyrah. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1955. xvi + 272 pp. 35s.

Mr. Pyrah has set out to write, not a history of colonial administration, but a detailed account of the evolution of British policy towards the momentous issues which confronted British statesmanship from the outbreak of the Boer War to the coming of Union in 1910. Exhibiting the contrast between the attitudes of Liberal and Unionist statesmen, he has sought to find a link between the earlier outlook of W. E. Gladstone and Kimberley and the emergence in 1917 of the idea of Commowearth. The author has assembled his materials from a wide variety of sources, but chiefly from the collections of private papers which have been published in recent years. Disclosures made in such volumes of correspondence have compelled some revision of earlier estimates. Among the Asquith papers Mr. Pyrah found a valuable memorandum drawn up by Smuts, in which the South African statesman cleverly used Liberal political philosophy to reinforce the urgency of the concession of self-government to the defeated republics.

Whilst Mr. Pyrah pays a notable tribute to Botha, his warmest praise is reserved for the wisdom and humanity of Campbell-Bannerman. The late Professor H. E. Egerton expressed doubt whether the grant of responsible government was actually a measure of the Liberal leader's foresight or whether, in fact, he and his colleagues 'merely moved with a light heart along the line of least resistance'. Mr. Pyrah, with new sources of information at his disposal, has no such doubts. Convinced by Smuts, whose London visit of Jan.-Feb. 1906 the author regards as 'one of the most crucial and decisive events in the imperial history of that period', Campbell-Bannerman took immediate steps to grant self-government as the only avenue to future racial and social harmony. In so doing, he abandoned the efforts to obtain political rights for the natives and sacrificed native and Indian interests on the altar of Anglo-Boer reconciliation. It was impossible to pursue simultaneously a policy of granting liberty to the white man and elevating the non-European to higher political and social status.

Yet efforts were made in this direction by the Liberals that Mr. Pyrah does not appear to have noticed. There is curiously no mention of the clash between Campbell-Bannerman's ministers and the self-governing colony of Natal on the occasion of the native rising of 1906-7. When the colonial secretary, Lord Elgin, asked for postponement of the execution of rebels sentenced under martial law, C. J. Smythe, the colonial premier, announced the resignation of his ministry, whilst his attorney-general, in reference to the action of the British ministry in continuing to pay a salary to Dinizulu after his sentence following a criminal trial, declared that the whole policy of the Liberal Government had been to 'let and hinder' the colonial authority. The trouble was smoothed over, probably through personal contacts, for Smythe, a Perthshire settler, was a relative of Elgin and had been at Glenalmond with him in the 'sixties. In the Commons, Churchill, as under-secretary, was content to remind Natalians that it was reasonable to ask for

information about action under martial law, for which an act of indemnity must ultimately receive the Crown's assent.

The movement towards Union, sketched in a chapter limited to six pages, might well have been treated more fully. Without a speedy unification Campbell-Bannerman's policy of converting former foes into loyal friends might have suffered shipwreck. Beyers' and de Wet's rebellion of 1914 would have been much more serious, had Botha to deal with a self-governing Orange Free State with an independent executive.

The book is timely and should receive a warm welcome. The reviewer has noticed no important errors. On page 102, however, it is certainly an exaggeration to assert that 'almost the entire Boer people' took part in the trek to the Interior that remains the central fact in South African history.

ALAN F. HATTERSLEY

In his *BRITISH FOREIGN POLICY SINCE 1898* (Hutchinson's University Library, 1956. 190 pp. 10s. 6d.) Mr. M. R. D. Foot has produced a lively book, always eminently readable. Its appearance will be welcome to those who feel that they have not the time to read Sir Winston Churchill's masterly twelve volumes on the two wars. In an introductory chapter of eight pages Mr. Foot attempts 'to sketch out some of the main trends of nineteenth-century foreign policies'. His judgement of Richard Cobden as 'one of the most singular and most prescient statesmen of the time' gives an idea of the author's angle of vision. This introduction is marred by one error of some importance. That Lord Salisbury 'staunchly believed' in the policy of 'splendid isolation' lacks foundation in fact, as Professors Temperley and Penson have pointed out. Lord Salisbury himself used the phrase 'splendid isolation' as a rebuke to British complacency. The rest of the book surveys foreign policy after 1898 and, in addition, contains interesting but sometimes doubtful pronouncements on strategy. We are given also a brief note on books, a table of governments and foreign secretaries, and a useful if occasionally inadequate index. To have covered this ground at all in 190 pages is a remarkable feat of compression, and Mr. Foot's eye for essentials must be admired. The description of Sir Edward Grey is astute, and other portraits are delightful and penetrating. It is perhaps unavoidable that after 1914 the book becomes more and more a summary of events. In the later years (particularly in the Chamberlain era) principles of policy seem so faint as to be hardly discernible. Exception may be taken to much of the reasoning in this book, and there are curious omissions. A good deal is said throughout about American policy and behaviour, but no American sources appear in the select bibliography. Three pages are given to the Manchurian crisis, but there is no mention of the Lytton report. Churchill's efforts on behalf of Poland are not recounted. The shortage of landing craft undoubtedly contributed to the postponement of the invasion of France until 1944, but did not the events in North Africa also delay the European time-table? The reasons for the political differences which divided the United States and Great Britain at the end of the war are not investigated. Surprisingly, no really adequate explanation is offered for why the British were 'slow' to recognize that the Nazis were 'dangerous neighbours'. Such indeed was the astonishing bankruptcy of British policy that Mr. Foot (in a commendable endeavour to be fair) is reduced to finding a mitigating circumstance in the absence until 1939 of a

full English translation of *Mein Kampf*, which ministers ignorant of German could read! Mr. Foot's book should be a useful one in the hands of a good teacher, suggestive and stimulating, but to be used with caution.

Bedford College, London

ROSE LOUISE GREAVES

R. M. Wiles' SERIAL PUBLICATION IN ENGLAND BEFORE 1750 (Cambridge University Press. 1957. xv + 391 pp. 50s.) is a scholarly and thorough study of the publication of books in serial form in newspapers or in periodical parts. It is an indispensable work of reference on the subject, of particular importance to librarians.

Jonathan Swift's AN ENQUIRY INTO THE BEHAVIOUR OF THE QUEEN'S LAST MINISTRY, edited by Irvin Ehrenpreis (Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 1956. 109 pp.), is interesting and important as a more candid account of the events of the last years of Anne's reign than such pamphlets as the *Secret History of the White Staff*, which defended Harley, or its rebuttal the *History of the Mitre and the Purse*. The explanatory notes, in which historians will be mainly interested, are very full, perhaps even excessively so. M.R.

The eighteenth century can be relied on for works of light historical entertainment. Such are ENCHANTING BELLAMY by C. H. Hartmann (London: Heinemann. 1956. 339 pp. 25s.), an anecdotal life of an actress famous in her day, and THE SUMMER KING, by Aylmer Vallance (London: Thames and Hudson. 1956. 200 pp. 16s.), a lively account of the adventures of the German baron, Theodore von Neuhoff, who was for some months in 1736 King of Corsica. GREEN RETREATS, THE STORY OF VAUXHALL GARDENS, 1661-1859 by W. S. Scott (London: Odhams Press. 1955. 128 pp. 18s.) relies largely on amusing contemporary references and illustrations. Letters from ordinary people in Scotland and northern England are collected in INTERCEPTED POST, AUGUST TO DECEMBER 1745, edited by D. Nicholas (London: The Bodley Head, 1956. 152 pp. 16s.). Individually of slight importance, they could be used, with a large-scale map, to show the difficulties and uncertainties of that year. DUBLIN UNDER THE GEORGES (London: Faber and Faber. 1956. 350 pp. 25s.), by Constantia Maxwell, is on a higher level. A revised edition of this informative, well-written and well-illustrated book is welcome. Thirteen literary pictures of electioneering from the early nineteenth century to the present day are collected by H. G. Nicholas in TO THE HUSTINGS (London: Cassell. 1956. xviii + 342 pp. 18s.). His sources range from Peacock to Belloc. This would be a useful book for a school library, as well as an entertaining one for the general reader.

There is a great deal of new material in JOHN HENRY NEWMAN: AUTOBIOGRAPHICAL WRITINGS, edited by Henry Tristram (London: Sheed and Ward. 1956. 338 pp. 30s.), and it forms a splendid supplement to the *Apologia*. Parts of it, especially the Journals, are mainly relevant to the development of Newman's spiritual life, but the four [*sic*] autobiographical sketches and memoirs and the memorandum on his connection with the Catholic University will be widely appreciated by both historians and educationalists. Even at his most introspective, Newman is thought-provoking.

Under the title *ASK THE FELLOWS WHO CUT THE HAY* (London: Faber, 1956. 250 pp. 25s.) G. E. Evans has collected, largely from oral tradition, an account of the way of life and work of a Suffolk village before the coming of mechanization. It is fascinating reading and genuine material for rural history.

THE AMERICAS

In few places did the royal habit of parcelling out to the needy large portions of North America without reference to a map—or, if a map was glanced at, without reference to its scale—cause such concentrated botheration as in Nova Caesaria or New Jersey. In *THE PROVINCE OF WEST NEW JERSEY, 1609–1702* (Princeton University Press. London: Cumberlege, 1956. xii + 298 pp. 40s.), Mr. John E. Pomfret examines in close detail, after a brief account of Swedish and Dutch activity on the Delaware, 38 years of conveyancing, litigation and confusion.

In 1664 James Duke of York allotted a portion of New Netherland, against which war had not been (and never was) declared, to two cronies whose Carolina interests had disappointed them, Sir John Berkeley and Sir George Cartaret. In March 1674, immediately after the brief Dutch reoccupation of the area, Berkeley sold out his section in the West to a Quaker, John Fenwick, who held it in trust for a Westminster merchant named Billing (referred to throughout rather needlessly as Byllynge). For this Berkeley, who was on the run from his creditors, never got permission from York, who was perhaps too preoccupied to bother, as he was shut out from public sight in Scotland at the time. Fenwick wanted to run West Jersey as a feudal barony, like skilful Lord Baltimore in contented Maryland: but unlike him was unskilled and un-moneyed, and his 'subjects' were not Catholics but Quakers, the most cantankerous of the religious sects of the seventeenth century. His citizenry objected, got the help of the powerful William Penn, kept up a running fight and wore Fenwick to death by 1683. Thereafter the Quakers intended to regulate affairs according to a grand charter ensuring liberty of conscience, trial by jury, taxation controlled by representation and the secret ballot—things they had no hope of in Restoration England. They had scant hope of them in West Jersey, too, for New York under a Governor diligent for his now powerful master constantly intervened, in 1692 an Anglican society bought themselves in, and everywhere every concession bred a creditor. Moreover, where two colonies share the same river bad blood flows in it as well as water, as the later history of Upper and Lower Canada shows: and East Jersey had ideas on the Delaware trade not shared by her factious neighbour.

Mr. Pomfret makes the story as smooth as the nature of the case allows, and the reader is not surprised that the 'old colonial' lawyer was the accepted public enemy of the day. A more detailed examination of James II's and William III's colonial ideas might have put these issues in a clearer context, however. West Jersey survived until 1702, when the Crown merged it with the East and gave it a stable administration which contrasted favourably with the area's previous record of bickering private enterprise.

King's College, Aberdeen

A. P. THORNTON

MIDDLE-CLASS DEMOCRACY AND THE REVOLUTION IN MASSACHUSETTS, 1691-1780. By Robert E. Brown. Cornell University Press. London: Cumberlege. 1956. 458 pp. 48s.

This book makes a substantial contribution to the recent tendency to find in Colonial institutions a wider diffusion of responsibility than used to be supposed. The principal arguments can be simply stated: Massachusetts in the eighteenth century enjoyed a political system highly satisfactory to all parts of the community, and correspondingly representative; the suffrage was extensive; wealth was, in general, evenly distributed, with few extremes. The conventional 'merchant aristocracy' thus disappears, and instead of ruling the province the merchants—on some important occasions at least—took their lead from the popular town-meetings. It is argued that British policy after 1763 was not concerned with defence, that the British government was bent on ruling America with a standing army, as Ireland was ruled, and that, on the American side, there was no internal class-struggle, no sectional conflict between sea-board and back-country. According to this argument, the democracy of Massachusetts was directly challenged by the new and repressive policies of British imperialism. Mr. Brown places most of his emphasis on the conflict of rival institutions, and revives, in a somewhat oversimplified form, though on the basis of new materials, the old thesis that the Revolutionary War sprang primarily from the conflict between these opposing principles of government. Although he is well aware of the fact that differences of interest caused the two societies to diverge, he does not wholly do justice to the complexity of the interplay between the forms of government and the material interests that they represented. He is at his strongest in his analysis of Massachusetts society. Not content to read the political system from the election statutes, he has examined the distribution of wealth from tax, probate and other records to discover how restrictive the suffrage qualifications really were. His exposition of the monetary problem, indispensable to this subject, is admirably thorough and clear. His ingenuity and resourcefulness set a standard which should have a salutary effect on further institutional studies.

When Mr. Brown reaches the Revolution, one comes to feel that repeated denials of the existence of any kind of class or sectional conflict—though soundly based in themselves—tend to exclude a more necessary discussion of the new problems raised by war and economic crisis. Thus it is only on p. 390 that we get a glimpse of the bitter internecine conflicts between mercantile and farming interests, and here, once more, the only comment offered is that this rivalry was between 'property groups', not between upper and lower classes. His analysis of the suffrage provisions of the constitution of 1780 is the first one that can be regarded as thoroughly satisfactory. Unfortunately the 'Essex Result', which, whether viewed as 'conservative' or not, is one of the most important statements of contemporary opinion, is ignored; and the interpretation of the constitution is weakened by the omission to mention that seats in the new state senate were to be apportioned on the basis of taxes paid, that is, of wealth, an arrangement that requires explanation in the light of the main argument.

Mr. Brown has written a polemical book and does not shrink from the broader implications of his argument as it affects American society. It should be remembered, however, that although the Colonies, especially those in the

North, were generally more democratic than England, Massachusetts itself was notorious for its 'levelling principles'. Nevertheless this book, as much for its method as for its argument, will certainly make its impression on future thinking.

University College, London

J. R. POLE

In *CULTURE ON THE MOVING FRONTIER* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 1955. 273 pp. \$3.50), Dr. Louis B. Wright argues that owing to the emphasis placed on the crudeness of American frontier life some of its less spectacular characteristics have been unduly neglected. Among these were the efforts of 'the better element' in successive frontier communities to reproduce the civilized standards of older-settled regions. Dr. Wright describes how, to overcome the barbarizing tendencies of the frontier, a great variety of agencies, both spiritual and secular, was pressed into service; not only churches and schools, but newspapers, libraries, lyceums and women's clubs upheld traditional values. The most effective civilizing influence, from Jamestown in 1607 to San Francisco in 1849, was that exerted by organized religion. Led by the Protestant dissenting sects, the churches were always active, not only in preserving moral standards, but in promoting education and stimulating social and cultural activities. That these efforts produced a largely homogeneous nation was due, Dr. Wright insists, to the persistence in American culture of a dominant British tradition, whether in language, literature, religion, law or social life. This judgement is, perhaps, an oversimplification, but in view of the recent emphasis on the multifarious elements in America's development, it is as well that attention has again been drawn to the oldest and most vigorous strain in her cultural inheritance.

University of Manchester

M. A. JONES

ASIA

AŚOKA, KAISER UND MISSIONAR, by Fritz Kern, edited by Willibald Kirfel (Berne: Franke Verlag. 1956. 208 pp. 14 Sw. fr.), the posthumous work of a well-known German historian, is yet another effort at understanding the emperor whose inscriptions are the earliest surviving Indian historical documents, and whose character was perhaps far more enigmatic than most students believe. The picture of Aśoka does not differ fundamentally from those of most earlier authorities—that of a saintly energetic philanthropist, having something in common with Marcus Aurelius, St. Louis and General William Booth. Where Professor Kern's interpretations of the sources differ from those of orthodoxy they tend to emphasize the religious and mystical element in Aśoka's character. The work consists of two parts, the first a lengthy commentary on Aśoka's inscriptions, the second chiefly a study of the religious evolution of India up to his time. In the opinion of the editor, Professor Kern intended to write a third section: as it stands at present, the book leaves the reader with a sense of incompleteness. It is unfortunate that the editor allowed it to be published without a bibliography. In its absence references such as 'Mookerji 23', 'Hultzsch 26,8', 'Vgl. Bhandarkar 181f.', etc., are quite useless to all but the expert.

School of Oriental and African Studies, London

A. L. BASHAM

A HISTORY OF SOUTH-EAST ASIA. By D. G. E. Hall. London: Macmillan. 1955. xv + 807 pp. 42s.

MICHAEL SYMES. JOURNAL OF HIS SECOND EMBASSY TO THE COURT OF AVA IN 1802. Edited with introduction and notes by D. G. E. Hall. London: Allen and Unwin. 1955. 270 pp. 25s.

In the first of these works, Professor Hall has attempted 'to present South-East Asia historically as an area worthy of consideration in its own right, and not merely when brought into contact with China, India or the West. Its history', he adds, 'cannot be safely viewed from any other perspective until seen from its own.' He has made a good job of an exceedingly difficult task, particularly as the ties between some of the countries with which he deals are of the most tenuous description. A good deal of dodging about in time and space is unavoidable in a work which has to keep shifting the scene from Arakan to the Moluccas and from the Gulf of Tongking to the Java Sea.

For the period before 1500 Professor Hall has made full use of the recent works of French and Dutch scholars, particularly those of George Coedès and C. C. Berg. In discussing the early relations of South-East Asia with India, he makes the point that these relations, whether cultural or commercial, were not necessarily all one way, with the Indonesians on the receiving end as is almost invariably assumed. Indonesian seafarers colonized a part of Madagascar, and there seems to be no reason why Indonesians should not have visited India in search of culture and commerce, in much the same way as the Japanese envoys, pilgrims and traders later visited China. Unfortunately, the history of the great island-empires of Srivijaya and Majapahit is still very uncertain, affording a happy fishing-ground for theorists, with a few solid dates and facts swimming in an ocean of myth and conjecture. This history of the mainland states of Indochina is much better documented epigraphically, but is in its present form mostly a dreary chronicle of internecine wars and dynastic blood-baths. We seem to know relatively little about the social and administrative background of (for instance) the Khmer empire and the builders of Angkor, apart from the temples and the Court.

During the period 1500-1800 the European intruders did not (with the exception of the Dutch in Java during the eighteenth century) secure any extensive territorial possessions in this region, but were confined to small islands and coastal settlements, where they had established themselves for commercial and strategic rather than for political purposes. Professor Hall has tried, on the whole successfully, to avoid the 'Europe-centric' approach; but inevitably he has had to rely largely on European records for the history of this period, and perhaps he devotes too much space to the relatively unimportant activities of the seventeenth-century English pioneers. By the end of the nineteenth century all of the region, with the solitary exception of Siam, had been brought under effective European control. Professor Hall is much more critical of French and Dutch colonial policies (and empire-builders) than he is of the British. One would not gather from his account that François Garnier, whom he describes as fanatically anti-British, was a valued friend and correspondent of Sir Henry Yule. Finally, he discusses the rise of nationalism and the challenge to European domination. Long latent, this was greatly stimulated by Japan's victory over Russia in 1904-5, and it was sealed by the ignominious collapse of European rule before the Japanese

onslaught in 1941-2. The concluding pages bring the story down to 1950, with an interim assessment of the prospects for the new or resurgent states of South-East Asia. A series of dynastic tables and a select bibliography round off a most careful and scholarly work which is clearly the fruit of wide reading in three languages.

Captain Symes, who twice (1795 and 1802) visited Ava as envoy to the Golden Feet from the governor-general at Calcutta, was perhaps the first Englishman to make a serious effort to understand and appreciate the Burmese point of view. The journal of his second embassy, now published for the first time, is interesting enough to warrant its appearance with a number of relevant documents. Professor Hall has done his editorial work admirably, but a map of Burma and a portrait of Symes (or of Bowdapaya) would have been welcome additions.

King's College, London

G. R. BOXER

IN THE EMPRESS WU (London: Cresset Press. 1956. x + 252 pp. 25s.) Professor C. P. Fitzgerald presents us with an account of a figure who dominated the Chinese political scene during the last four decades of the seventh century, in spite of the position of inferiority to which women were traditionally relegated in medieval China. The book is extremely readable, and sheds some interesting light on the part played in politics by the women of the Imperial household and the eunuchs. Unfortunately, however, the author has based his account on a narrow selection of source material. For the most part the book presents simply the story of events as given in the *Chi-shih pên-mo* recension (late twelfth century) of Ssu-ma Kuang's *Tzu chih t'ung chien*. The traditional historians dealt with the Empress Wu's reign in a very tendentious fashion, and such a study as this ought to have been preceded by a meticulous examination of the available materials elsewhere. The author moreover does not really come to grips with the major historical problems of his period, which was a crucial one in the development of China from a society ruled by an aristocracy into one ruled by a bureaucratic gentry. There is also no discussion of the major economic and social changes which were transforming China, especially in the south. However, in spite of these shortcomings, this volume gives the first account in a Western language of a fascinating personality, and of the surface events of a most interesting passage of Chinese history.

Another recent work dealing with the Empress Wu is *LADY WU. A TRUE STORY* (London: Heinemann. 1957. xiv + 245 pp. 15s.) by Lin Yutang. Although written as a historical novel, this is closely based on the *Chiu t'ang Shu*, the official history of the period, and does not reflect the traditional fictional treatments of the reign such as the novel *Wu t'se-t'ien ssü ch'ita-an*. However, the author not only reproduces the bias of his sources, but adds a very strong political bias of his own, drawing a quite unjustified parallel between the career of his subject and that of Stalin.

St. Catherine's College, Cambridge

D. G. TWITCHETT

In his book *REFORMERS IN INDIA 1793-1833* (Cambridge University Press. 1956. 150 pp. 18s.) Professor Kenneth Ingham of Makerere College, Uganda, has attempted 'an account of the work of Christian missionaries on behalf of social reform'. In a short book of little more than 40,000 words he surveys the whole field of missionary activity; under separate chapters he treats of 'The

Missionaries and the East India Company', 'Caste', 'Idolatrous Festivals and the Practice of "Sati"', 'Education', 'The Status of Indian Women', 'Languages, Literature, Journalism and Translation', 'Medicine and Agriculture'. He appends a complete list of Protestant missionaries at work during the period, and also a map showing the site of every recorded mission station.

Dr. Ingham claims for the missionaries the initiation of those varied social and cultural movements which together have produced the outlook of the modern Indian middle-classes. The missionary contribution has been neglected, he feels, because it was later appropriated by the indigenous current of nationalism. He makes no serious attempt to prove this interesting thesis or to assess the importance of the missionaries' work in comparison with other sources of Western influence. His intention is simply to stake the missionaries' claim by describing the wide range of their activities and showing how they directed their efforts to transform Indian society and culture from every possible angle. Unfortunately this approach leads in so short a book to a somewhat perfunctory treatment of any one topic, and more seriously, to some loss of direction in the argument. The book is well written, but one wonders whether concentration upon one or two key subjects would not have yielded a more compelling result. The treatment of higher education policy is tantalizingly brief, and less important activities might well have been sacrificed for an examination of the missionary influence on a man like Ram Mohan Roy. But a book which breaks away from the obsession with governmental activity and official records makes a welcome contribution to the contemporary study of nineteenth-century India.

University of Bristol

E. T. STOKES

GENERAL

THE VICTORIA HISTORY OF THE COUNTIES OF ENGLAND: WILTSHIRE, vol. iii. Edited by R. B. Pugh and Elizabeth Crittall. Published for the Institute of Historical Research by the Oxford University Press. 1956. xix + 424 pp. £5 5s.

For more than half a century the Victoria County History has been one of England's major historical enterprises, and its steady progress towards completion will be a source of gratification not only to the student of local history, but to all those to whom it has become an indispensable work of reference, topographical, architectural and ecclesiastical. It is the ecclesiastical historian who will chiefly welcome the present volume, for it is concerned exclusively with the history of the church in Wiltshire. In content it conforms, as was to be expected, to the standard pattern for such volumes: a series of general articles on church history followed by short monographs on each of the 49 religious houses established within the county, the only departure from the original scheme being the separate treatment of Roman Catholicism and of Protestant Nonconformity. The quality of the contributions is, however, much in advance of those which are to be found in some of the earlier ecclesiastical volumes of the V.C.H., and Miss Edwards' 54-page section on Salisbury Cathedral and Dom Aelred Watkin's history of Malmesbury are important works of scholarship in themselves. Miss Crittall's section on Wilton Abbey and Miss Edwards' study of that 'interesting and unusual

foundation', De Vaux College at Salisbury, are also notable contributions to English ecclesiastical history.

Though less valuable, perhaps, to the professional historian than the monographs on individual foundations, the general chapters on church history are, in their way, no less admirable. As Wiltshire occupies so large a part of the ancient diocese of Salisbury they are almost equivalent to a diocesan history, and the chapters on Roman Catholicism and Nonconformity are a valuable innovation which, it is to be hoped, will now become a standard feature of the V.C.H. A useful map, an efficient index, and some attractive illustrations complete a volume which does credit alike to the contributors, to the editors and to the county.

St. John's College, Oxford

H. M. COLVIN

A SHORT HISTORY OF RUSSIA (London: Phoenix House. 1956. 232 pp. 18s.) by R. D. Charques is a thoughtful, compact and well-written outline which should prove very useful both to those who intend to go on to a more thorough study of the subject and to those whose interests lie in other fields of history but who also feel the need for a general understanding of the main events and factors in the history of Russia. It is sometimes at fault on a point of detail, as when it says on p. 208 that under the early Soviet constitution the same representation was given to 25,000 urban dwellers as to 125,000 rural dwellers instead of 25,000 urban electors and 125,000 rural dwellers. But such slips are surprisingly few. It rightly stresses the importance of the autocrat as one of the formative forces in Russian history. But it also pays special attention to the peasant problem, the successive phases of which it treats with real insight and understanding. Another of its merits is that it tries to deal with the Soviet period of Russian history on the same scale and in the same perspective as earlier periods, which is in welcome contrast to most one-volume histories of Russia where the Soviet period is usually treated in disproportionate detail. In this way, it brings out the continuity as well as the differences between Soviet Russia and Tsarist Russia.

School of Slavonic Studies, London

G. H. BOLSOVER

SACHWÖRTERBUCH ZUR DEUTSCHEN GESCHICHTE, edited by Hellmut Rössler and Günther Franz (Munich: Oldenbourg. Subscription price: DM. 13 for each of seven parts), is a dictionary of German history which will be of great value to teachers of European history in sixth forms and to students and teachers in the universities. Six of its seven parts (Aachen—Reformation, each 160 closely printed pages) have already appeared and the whole is due to be completed within fourteen months. It is an encyclopædia which deals, as its title indicates, with things and not persons, and is designed to be used in conjunction with the same editors' BIOGRAPHISCHES WÖRTERBUCH ZUR DEUTSCHEN GESCHICHTE (*ibid.* 1953. xlviii + 968 pp. DM. 88). The complete *Sachwörterbuch* will contain some 2000 articles in 1120 pages on such topics of German and associated history as historiography, wars, battles and peace treaties, the German states, towns and lordships, politics, political parties and theories, constitutional history, institutions, economic and social history, religion, Churches and sects, the history of the arts and sciences and learned institutions. As far as I have been able to check it the information seems to be accurate and up to date, though the

editors rely very largely on German secondary works even for their information about Anglo-German or German-Bohemian relations. Though the contributors have been encouraged to make historical judgements, the parts I have examined betray little political, national or ideological prejudice. Both these dictionaries might usefully find a place in school, college, university and public libraries.

School of Slavonic Studies, London

R. R. BETTS

FROM PILLAR TO POST: THE TROUBLED HISTORY OF THE MAIL (London: Heinemann. 1956. x + 217 pp. 15s.) by Laurin Zilliacus is a remarkably successful attempt to trace the history of both public and private postal organizations through the ages, from ancient Egypt to the Universal Postal Union and similar bodies, such as the International Telecommunication Union. This vast field is treated in an interesting fashion; plenty of good illustrations and an annotated bibliography of the most important books on the subject are provided. The author is attracted, in a rather naïve fashion, by the international aspect of postal history, as illustrating the gradual development of world government. This process will, it is hoped, gradually transfer more and more 'the affairs of mankind from the hands of politicians to the hands of technicians'. Yet on a previous page the author has to admit that, as far as postal services were concerned, nationalization was 'the prerequisite to internationalization', and nationalism is the butt of numerous sallies and bright remarks, often pointless. Unfortunately the book contains a number of irritating slips which could easily have been avoided, e.g. Austria and Prussia attacked Denmark in 1864, not 1863; stage coaches did not die out in England in 1846 and James Watt did not invent the locomotive. But if these are borne in mind, the book will be most useful to teachers and general readers who wish to have handy the main facts about an aspect of human affairs which is often taken very much for granted.

University of Manchester

W. H. CHALONER

Under the title *ESSAYS ON FREEDOM AND POWER* (London: Thames and Hudson. 1956. 350 pp. 12s. 6d.) Gertrude Himmelfarb has collected nine essays by Lord Acton and provided them with a brief and interesting introduction. One of the essays, 'The Political Causes of the American Revolution', is reprinted for the first time since it appeared in 1861, and the two important Acton-Creighton letters of 1887 are for the first time printed in full. Another, and particularly interesting collection, to which attention should be drawn is Fritz Stern's *THE VARIETIES OF HISTORY: FROM VOLTAIRE TO THE PRESENT* (London: Thames and Hudson. 1957. 427 pp. 15s.). This consists of a selection of essays, lectures, prefaces and the like, in which historians have expressed their views on the nature of their subject. Criticism of the selection would be possible, but the only really fair reaction is gratitude for a collection which would be most salutary reading for all students of history. *WILHELM DILTHEY'S PHILOSOPHY OF HISTORY* (Columbia University Press. London: O.U.P. 1956. x + 118 pp. 24s.), by William Kluback, is a competent short survey of a writer whose great contribution to the history of thought was 'the demonstration that through historical understanding man becomes conscious of the totality of all human experience'. As interpreted

here, Dilthey will appeal to those who want a philosophy of history rather than to either philosophers or historians.

HISTOIRE DES INSTITUTIONS, tome second (Paris: Presses Universitaires, 1956. 2 vols. 887 pp. 1300 fr. + 600 fr.) by Jacques Ellul, surveys the history of French institutions from the early Middle Ages to 1870. A textbook, belonging to the collection *Thémis*, it is intended primarily for students of the faculty of law in France. Others will find it a useful work of reference of an introductory nature. Its summaries are clear and concise. The bibliographical sections, including articles as well as books and concentrating on the more recent literature, are well chosen and unusually free from misprints.

A new German bibliography of world history—BÜCHERKUNDE ZUR WELTGESCHICHTE VOM UNTERGANG DES RÖMISCHEN WELTREICHS BIS ZUR GEGENWART, edited by Günther Franz (Munich: R. Oldenberg, 1956. xxiv + 544 pp. DM. 64)—contains over 17,000 references. It is wide-ranging but selective. Where one can check it, the inclusion of trivial works and the omission of important ones can occasionally be noted. Some periods (e.g. English medieval history) are far more fully treated than others. There are odd little comments such as *sehr wertvoll*, *standwerk*, *gute Bilder*, *Voreingenommen*, on an occasional book here and there, which are misleading in so far as similar comments might be applied to many more of the references. There are a fair number of misprints.

Pierre Caron's annual bibliography of French history appeared for the last time in 1938, when the production of the year 1931 was catalogued. It has been renewed for the year 1955 by Mlle Colette Albert's BIBLIOGRAPHIE ANNUELLE DE L'HISTOIRE DE FRANCE (Paris: Editions du centre national de la recherche scientifique, 1956. xlviii + 301 pp. 1600 fr.). Attention should be drawn to a preliminary biographical survey of publications on Ancient Gaul from 1945 to 1955 by M. André Aymard (pp. 1-13).

A GUIDE TO REGIONAL STUDIES ON THE EAST RIDING OF YORKSHIRE AND THE CITY OF HULL by A. G. Dickens and K. A. Macmahon (University of Hull, 1956. 66 pp. 5s. 6d.) is an admirable bibliographical guide which maintains a just balance between the needs of the amateur and those of the specialist.

How valuable a local centre of historical material may become is well illustrated by the GUIDE TO THE MANUSCRIPT COLLECTIONS IN THE SHEFFIELD CITY LIBRARIES (Sheffield: Libraries Committee, 1956. 115 pp. 5s.), prepared by the archivist, Miss R. Meredith.

WHEATLEY RECORDS, edited by W. O. Hassall (Oxfordshire Record Society, 1956. 128 pp. 25s.), is something in the nature of a scrapbook. It contains a useful paper by E. M. Jope on the Archæology of Wheatley Stone, and extracts from a variety of documents. The medieval extracts (given in translation) are not numerous and the *pièces de résistance* come from the Wheatley Overseers' Accounts 1638-60, from the Vestry Minute Book 1829-35, and from the diary of Rev. E. Elton, 1850-84. There are also 101 plates which, like everything else in the book, are full of surprises.

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LOUIS THE PIOUS RECONSIDERED

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ABOUT A.D. 814 the Frankish realm under Charlemagne included all western Christian Europe, except the British Isles, the small north Spanish Christian states, the Christians living under the Crescent in Mohammedan Spain, Byzantine southern Italy and Sicily. To the territories which Charlemagne had inherited from his father Pepin III, or conquered himself, should be added those upon which he imposed his protectorate: Rome and the Papal State, the duchy of Benevento and the lands inhabited by Slav tribes to the east of Saxony, in Bohemia, and in the flat open country crossed by the middle-Danube. On 25 December 800, Charlemagne had become Roman Emperor. When he died in Aachen on 28 January 814, he was succeeded by his son Louis the Pious, who, from 11 September 813, had been associated with him in his imperial title and authority.

The reign of Louis the Pious has a bad reputation. It is supposed to mark the beginning of the period of decadence of what had been Charlemagne's powerful empire. Historians have attempted to determine the causes of this first phase in the Carolingian decline. They have pointed to the conflict between different political programmes, the clash of interests between members of the lay and ecclesiastical aristocracy, or the struggles of contending parties, clans and individuals. They have laid stress on the differences of nationality and have attributed the breakdown of the Empire to its ethnical structure, as well as its political and social organization. And they have emphasized the bad effects of certain governmental methods, explaining them by reference to the economic state of western Europe in the ninth century.¹ In

¹ The following abbreviations will be used: *B.K.*: ed. A. Boretius and V. Krause, *Capitularia Regum Francorum*, 2 vols., *M.G.H.*, 1883 and 1897. *M.G.H.*: *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*.

The historians cited below all recognize that more than one factor was responsible for the decadence and the break-up of the Empire; however they generally attribute special importance to a particular group of factors. It must be added that even between those scholars whom I group together, there often are far-reaching differences of opinion. The most prominent historians who insist on conflicts of programmes and clashes of interests are A. Kleinclausz, *L'empire carolingien*, Paris, 1902; R. Poupardin, review of the preceding work in *Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes*, lxiv. 105-10 (1903); G. Tellenbach, *Königtum und Stämme in der Werdezeit des deutschen Reiches*, Weimar, 1939; J. Calmette, *L'effondrement d'un Empire et la naissance d'une Europe*, Paris, 1941; L. Halphen, *Charlemagne et l'empire carolingien*, Paris, 2nd ed.,

addition to all these reasons, allowance has to be made for the personality of Louis the Pious himself. Most historians consider his weakness of character and personal failings to be among the chief factors which caused the downfall of the Carolingian Empire.²

My aim is not to contradict these views, which on the whole are correct. I believe, however, that by themselves they do not adequately characterize the place of Louis the Pious's reign in the Carolingian epoch, nor the part that he himself played in the history of that period.³ It must be remembered that in the intellectual field, his reign stands out as the full bloom of the Carolingian Renaissance: it is the age of Einhard, Rabanus Maurus, Walafrid Strabo, Paschasius Radbertus, Gotschalk, Lupus of Ferrières, Smaragdus, Jonas of Orleans, Agobard, Amalarius of Metz, Florus of Lyon. Nearly all these authors were in contact, some even in close contact with the emperor or with his immediate entourage. Those who know their importance in literary history and the influence which the works of several of them exercised on western thought during the following centuries, as well as the part played by some in the handing down of classical literary works both pagan and christian, are bound to regard the reign of Louis the Pious as a period of great consequence.⁴ Was it not also important in the sphere of political and institutional history? The strenuous efforts of Louis the Pious, especially during the first part of his reign—from 814 to 829—to endow the Empire with a better, stronger and more efficient organization, have often been overlooked. I propose to concentrate my attention on the most important aspects of this policy.

It must be premised, that when I refer to the efforts of Louis the Pious, or the policy of Louis the Pious, I mean, of course, the Emperor with his advisors. We know a few of these for the period under con-

1949; F. Lot, *Naissance de la France*, Paris, 1948. Of those who consider the action of nationalities (whether coming into existence or consciousness) as decisive or at least important, one might mention M. Lintzel, *Die Anfänge des deutschen Reiches*, München, 1941 and (though with finer shades of meaning) F. Steinbach, *Das Frankenreich*, in A. O. Meyer, *Handbuch der deutschen Geschichte*, Konstanz, 2nd ed., not dated (1956). H. Zatschek has tried to collect evidence for the hypothesis that it was the actual form of the partitions which was largely responsible for the final clash, because it deprived Louis the German of an unduly large number of royal manors, these being mostly situated in the West, and so drove him to repeated rebellion (*Die Reichsteilungen unter Kaiser Ludwig dem Frommen*, Mitteilungen des Oesterreichischen Instituts für Geschichtsforschung, xlix, 1935; *Wie das erste Reich der Deutschen entstand*, Prague, 1940). H. Fichtenau shows how the structure and the organization of the Empire and the immaturity of its leading elements made conflicts between parties both easy and extremely dangerous (*Das Karolingische Imperium*, Zurich, 1949; English translation by P. Munz, *The Carolingian Empire*, Oxford, 1957). J. Dhondt lays stress on methods of government and on their economic background (*Études sur la naissance des principautés territoriales en France*, Bruges, 1948).

² E.g. Lot, *op. cit.*, p. 409: 'Guerrier infatigable, il avait tout le long de son règne, fait preuve de la plus déplorable faiblesse de caractère. Ses vertus, sa bonté, sa pitié avaient été impuissantes à racheter cette tare mortelle chez un chef d'état.'

³ The views put forward in this lecture are based on research work which I have undertaken in one of my seminars in the University of Ghent since 1950. Quite independently a German historian, T. Schieffer, came to conclusions very similar to mine and published them in an excellent article, which was written in 1955, but only printed in 1957 ('Die Krise des karolingischen Imperiums', in *Aus Mittelalter und Neuzeit. Festschrift zum 70. Geburtstag von Gerhard Kallen*, Bonn).

⁴ J. de Ghellinck, S.J., *Littérature latine au moyen âge*, i, 87 and 100 ff. Paris, 1939. A similar remark is made by Schieffer, *op. cit.*, p. 4.

sideration. St. Benedict of Aniane had a definite influence on him, even in matters which are not now considered ecclesiastical. After Benedict's death in 821, the former count Wala, a relative of the emperor, who had become in spite of himself a monk and was to become abbot of Corbie, was recalled from disgrace. He had been out of favour since 814; but for several years after 821/2 he exercised a strong influence on the government of the Empire.⁵ It is harder to distinguish the part played by other personalities.⁶ It is reasonable to ascribe some influence to the chancellors Helisachar and Fridugisus (by birth an Englishman and a pupil of that great Northumbrian, Alcuin), also to the abbot of Saint-Denis and court chaplain in chief (*archicapellanus*), Hilduin. It is known also that, about 818, the count of Orleans, Matfrid, enjoyed the confidence of the emperor, though we cannot determine exactly the use to which he put it.⁷

To understand the policy of Louis and his advisors, we must remember the state of the empire when he acceded to the throne. During the last years of Charlemagne's reign, the results of bad administrative organization were everywhere evident: inefficient functioning of the public services; corruption; individual and collective violence; insecurity of life and property, both for individuals and corporate bodies; a general tendency to disregard the law and more particularly to avoid military service; frequent disorders and irregularities in the Church. Altogether, the Empire was internally in a very unsatisfactory state, to say nothing of the external anxieties caused by the Bretons, Saracens, Slavs and Danes along the borders or the coasts.⁸

Charlemagne's successor attempted to tackle these evils from several different angles, which I propose to discuss in turn. First, the idea of supreme power.

⁵ It should be noted that Louis the Pious seems to have needed the constant and authoritative advice of a strong personality. As soon as St. Benedict of Aniane died (821), the former abbot of Corbie, the energetic Adalhard, out of favour like all the members of his family since 814, was called back to court and started exerting his influence. Adalhard's brother, Wala, probably made conditions before agreeing to return, but as early as 822 his influence had become decisive. Cf. *Annales Regni Francorum*, ed. F. Kurze, Hanover, 1895, pp. 156, 159, and Fichtenau, *op. cit.*, pp. 244-9.

⁶ Information on the counsellors of Louis the Pious and on other personages who had an influence on him may be found in the works of Kleinclausz, Calmette, Halphen and Fichtenau quoted above (n. 1), as well as in A. Hauck *Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands*, ii, 8th ed., Berlin and Leipzig, 1954 (with an excellent index). On every problem connected with Louis the Pious and his household, the rather old, but essential work of L. Simson, *Jahrbücher des fränkischen Reiches unter Ludwig dem Frommen*, Berlin and Leipzig, 1874-6, 2 vols. (with a good index) should also be consulted.

⁷ In 818, the bishop of Orleans, Theodulf, was deposed and exiled as an accomplice of Bernard, king of Italy, who had revolted against the emperor. Subsequently he requested his friend, Moduin bishop of Autun, to help him to recover the Emperor's favour; the bishop answered that he had asked Matfrid to intercede with the Emperor on his behalf. *Rescriptum Modoini ad Theodulfum*, verses 109-10, *M.G.H. Poete* i, p. 572. Many people believed that Matfrid made a bad use of his influence on the emperor. Cf. letter x of Agobard of Lyon (to Matfrid), of c. 818-28, *M.G.H., Epistolae*, v, 201-3.

⁸ See my article 'La fin du règne de Charlemagne. Une décomposition', in *Zeitschrift für Schweizerische Geschichte*, xxviii, 1948. I still hold the views developed in that article in spite of the reservations of W. A. Eckhardt in 'Die Capitularia missorum specialia von 802', *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters*, xii, 511, n. 64 (1956) and by Schieffer, *op. cit.*, p. 3.

Charlemagne had been greatly impressed by his elevation to the dignity of emperor; it had inspired him with a scheme of imperial government which, however, did not develop very much in practice. The traditional conception of Frankish monarchical power was not fundamentally altered; the new dignity simply gave it greater prestige. The title adopted by Charlemagne after 801 attests the fact: *Karolus serenissimus augustus a Deo coronatus magnus pacificus imperator Romanum gubernans imperium, qui et per misericordiam Dei rex Francorum atque Lango-bardorum*. It was the royal, kingly, power which was the reality. Now this power over people and land was traditionally held to be part of the patrimony of the king and of his dynasty, rather than the prerogative of some theoretical being which was permanent and independent of the actual person of the monarch. The abstract notion of the state, of the *respublica*, seems to have been as foreign to Charlemagne as to his predecessors.⁹

With Louis the Pious there was a great change. He had the intellectual capacity for grasping an abstraction and his frequent intercourse with learned clerics must have familiarized him with the 'non-historic' notion of the Empire which had developed in Church circles since the time of Gregory the Great. According to this notion the emperor—and this meant, of course, the Roman Emperor—was endowed with a universal authority destined to protect the universal Church against the dangers which might threaten her, to spread the Christian faith, and to preserve its purity. Such an abstract conception of imperial authority was of course incompatible with the traditional, almost patrimonial idea of royal power. The result was that all mention of this royal power disappeared, as early as 814, from the title of Louis the Pious: *Hludowicus divina ordinante providentia imperator augustus*.¹⁰

The ecclesiastical basis of this universal imperial authority¹¹ appears most clearly in the writings of Ardo, the intimate collaborator and the biographer of St. Benedict of Aniane: *Gloriosissimus autem Ludoicus rex Aquitanirum tunc, nunc autem divina providente gratia, totius ecclesie Europa degentis imperator augustus*. In this definition the Empire is almost merged with the Church.¹² In so far as it is possible to distinguish them, the

⁹ See my article cited in the preceding note.

¹⁰ On Louis the Pious's conception of the Empire, see my article 'Observations sur l'Ordinatio Imperii de 817', in *Festschrift Guido Kisch*, Stuttgart, 1954, as well as Halphen, *op. cit.*, pp. 225-41 (and especially pp. 225-7). I cannot agree with the opinion developed by R. Folz in an otherwise excellent book (*L'idée d'empire en Occident du Ve au XIVe siècle*, Paris, 1953, pp. 36-7), that with Louis the Pious's reign the idea of the Empire became almost entirely Frankish.

¹¹ Schieffer, *op. cit.*, p. 5, '... mit programmatisch-rationaler Bewusstheit wird das Herrschertum als solches... in den christlichen Raum einbezogen, es wird sublimiert, spiritualisiert als Institution, als Amt mit einem festen, gottgewollten Ort innerhalb der Ecclesia'.

¹² *Vita Benedicti, abbatis Anianensis et Indensis*, c. 29, *M.G.H. Scriptores* (folio), xv, i, p. 211. The same idea is expressed in the *Relatio*, which the archbishops addressed to Louis the Pious in the summer of 829, as a conclusion to the four councils which they had held on his orders. They mention the fact that the Emperor and his counsellors had (in December 828) taken a series of measures to stop corrupt practices in State and Church affairs: this doubled-sided action is described in the phrase *ecclesie vobis commissæ utilitatem providere* ('*Episcoporum ad Hludowicum imperatorem relatio*; *B.K.*, ii, no. 196, p. 28, ll. 5-6).

Empire constitutes a sort of complex of institutions used by the Church as a secular frame: a *respublica*, the necessary support of the *ecclesia*.¹³ Thus by way of the ecclesiastical interpretation of the role of the Empire, an abstract idea of royal power, which one might compare to the idea of the State, was reappearing in the West and particularly in the *Regnum Francorum*.

The consequences of this development were of the greatest importance in relation both to the succession to the throne and to the integrity of the territory of the empire. Like all his Merovingian and Carolingian predecessors, Charlemagne had, on both these points, treated his kingdoms in the same way as private landed estates were treated. When the king died, the kingdom was divided between his sons. For both king and subjects, this almost patrimonial conception of royal power was deeply rooted in their sense of legality. The raising of Charlemagne to the imperial dignity had changed nothing in this respect. In 806 Charles had settled his future succession by means of a partition of his realms between his three sons,¹⁴ and it was only the premature death of his two brothers that enabled Louis the Pious to inherit the whole of the territories belonging to his father.

When, in 817, Louis came to regulate his own succession, he acted quite differently. The Emperor, possessing a universal authority for the protection of the universal Church, was in duty bound to maintain the Empire's unity just as the Church was one. To anticipate a partition between his sons according to tradition, as many advised him to do, would have been to offend against God, and commit a mortal sin. Hence the unity of the empire had to be maintained. Within its boundaries, a few territories accustomed to autonomy might keep or receive a king, as did Italy under his nephew Bernard, and Aquitaine and Bavaria under two of his sons, Pepin and Louis, but each one of these kings would be strictly subordinated to the emperor: there would only be one empire. At its head would stand one of the sons of Louis the Pious. Special devotions took place to induce God to inspire the correct choice and when the eldest son, Lothar had been designated, his father immediately associated him in the imperial authority.

Thus the *Ordinatio Imperii* of 817 introduced into the *Regnum*

¹³ H. Liebeschütz ('Wesen und Grenzen des karolingischen Rationalismus', *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte*, xxxiii. 37-9 (1950)) has rightly insisted on the reappearance of the word *respublica* in Louis the Pious's time. The passages which he quotes from Nithard, an important man and a relative—though illegitimate—of the emperor, fit in with the views here expressed on the idea of *respublica* that prevailed during the first part of Louis the Pious's reign. See Nithardi, *Historiarum libri IIII*, i. 3, 4; iii. 2; iv. 6 (ed. E. Müller, Hanover, 1907, pp. 3-7, 29-31, 48-9). The agents of the imperial power are frequently called *rem publicam administrantes* or *rei publicae procurator* in the charters of Louis the Pious; e.g. *Formule Imperiales*, no. 29, b (816; Saint-Martin de Tours), no. 20 (814-17; Saint-Aignan d'Orleans), no. 22 (814-29; Cathedral of Nevers), ed. K. Zeumer, *Formule Merovingici et Karolini Aevi*, M.G.H. Legum Sectio v, pp. 308, 300, 302; W. Wiegand, *Urkundenbuch der Stadt Straszburg*, I, Straszbourg, 1879, no. 23, p. 19 (831; Cathedral of Straszbourg).

¹⁴ The text of the '*Divisio Regnorum*' is in *B.K.* i, no. 45 and my comment in the article quoted above (n. 8), pp. 443-7. I cannot agree with the opinion which W. Mohr recently expressed on the '*Divisio*' (Bemerkungen zur *divisio regnorum* des Jahres 806, *Archivum Latinitatis Medii Aevi* = *Bulletin du Cange*, xxiv, 1954).

Francorum the maintenance of the integrity of the territory and the rule of succession to the throne by primogeniture.¹⁵ These were far-reaching reforms. The abolition of partitions was meant to exclude not only civil wars of succession but also the disruption of territory and all the consequent weakness and anarchy which, for more than three centuries, had resulted from the traditional system of inheritance.

This new conception of 'depersonalized' power, if it had been understood and put into practice, might perhaps have led to a more rational organization of the machinery of government. There are signs that this was attempted, at least in certain fields. Indeed, in the first half of the reign of Louis the Pious, there was something more than the change in the conception of royal power and the new rules concerning the succession to the throne which I have just mentioned. The Emperor and his counsellors attempted to reform or to adapt certain groups of institutions so as to make them more adequate.¹⁶ The alarming state of the Frankish monarchy must in itself have inclined those who were more or less clear-sighted towards some such measures.

Let us start with a key institution: the *conventus generalis* or *placitum generale*: this was the general assembly of the clerical and lay aristocracy, commonly called the 'people' (*populus*), but consisting mainly of bishops, abbots, counts and important royal vassals. There is a noticeable change in its function. Under Charlemagne, with the exception of a few especially important assemblies summoned in quite exceptional circumstances,¹⁷ the assemblies were held once a year, most often at the time of the concentration of the army before or even during a military campaign. It seldom happened that two assemblies took place in the same year.¹⁸

During the reign of Louis the Pious, the assemblies became distinct from the concentrations of the army. Their character as institutions in their own right was emphasized, and one might say that they acquired a more administrative stamp.¹⁹ From 816 to 828 there were generally two a year, and sometimes even three.²⁰ The attendance does not seem to have been equally numerous at all of them. One suspects, for a few

¹⁵ The text of the *Ordinatio Imperii* is in *B.K.* i, no. 136, and my comment in the article quoted above (n. 10).

¹⁶ This has been hinted at both by Halphen, *op. cit.*, pp. 244-6, and by Schieffer, *op. cit.*, p. 4.

¹⁷ Such as were those of Herstal (779), of Regensburg (end of 792/beginning of 793), Frankfurt a. M. (794), Aachen (spring 802 and autumn of the same year), Thionville (806), Aachen (April or May 813 and September 813). On these assemblies, see my articles: on that of 779, 'Une crise dans le règne de Charlemagne. Les années 778 et 779', in *Mélanges d'histoire et de littérature offerts à M. C. Gilliard*, Lausanne, 1944; on 792/3, 'Note sur deux capitulaires non datés de Charlemagne', in *Miscellanea Historica in honorem L. van der Essen*, i. Brussels, 1947; on 794, 'Observations sur le synode de Francfort de 794', in *Miscellanea Historica in honorem A. De Meyer*, i. Louvain, 1946; on the other assemblies, see n. 8 above.

¹⁸ Halphen, *op. cit.*, pp. 161-2, 244. It is easy to draw up a chronological list of these assemblies by consulting E. Mühlbacher, *Die Regesten des Kaiserreichs unter den Karolingern*, 2nd ed. revised by J. Lechner, Innsbruck, 1908.

¹⁹ Halphen, *op. cit.*, p. 245, has rightly pointed to these new characteristics of the institution.

²⁰ See n. 18.

of them, an effort at specialization.²¹ We may believe that the emperor was seeking more frequent contacts with his ecclesiastical and secular officers, and especially with those most concerned with the settlement of the immediate practical problems. Thus the monarch and his counsellors could be better informed about the state of affairs in the different parts of the empire, and could exercise a more effective influence on local officials.

Thirdly, let us pass on to the neighbouring field, of the Capitularies.²² These imperial edicts ensured the publication of legislative measures and of other regulations; they notified the persons concerned of decisions on current administration, and served as 'memoranda' to those whose duty it was to carry them out, especially the *missi dominici*. On several occasions capitularies were published at the end of an assembly in which their subject matter had been debated.

When comparing the capitularies of Charlemagne with those of his son, it is obvious that the latter are better written: the 'first' Carolingian Renaissance, which was chiefly an effort to extend education, had borne its fruit.²³ The staff in charge of the wording of the capitularies was able to formulate the imperial regulations in a clearer and more comprehensible way than before. It is only necessary to compare the great capitulary of 802 constituting Charlemagne's programme of imperial government²⁴ with Louis the Pious's capitularies 'of reform' published in 818/19:²⁵ on the one hand a text which is obscure and often ambiguous, on the other, articles expressing far more clearly the emperor's will.

We can go farther still. Sometimes a very important capitulary, or group of important capitularies, required an introduction describing the background, indicating the antecedents and summarily justifying the promulgation of the measures contained therein. Under Louis the Pious this introduction is effected much more neatly than under Charlemagne. The first article of the 'programmatic' capitulary of 802 just mentioned is intended as an introduction to it, but is contorted, clumsy and indistinct. In 818/19, the group known to us as the four Reform capitularies is headed by a well-constructed account of their

²¹ Amongst the smaller assemblies, the members of which perhaps were chosen on account of their presumed competence, one might quote that of May 821 (Nijmegen) and that of May 823 (Frankfurt a. M.), which both had to deal with matters concerning the situation in the eastern parts of the empire (*Annales Regni Francorum*, pp. 155 and 160). One might also quote the *placitum cum aliquibus ex fidelibus nostris*, which met at Aachen in December 828 and perhaps other *placita* of the same kind which were held there later in the same winter: the aim of the meetings was the preparation of measures to eradicate corrupt practices in the administration of State and Church (see above, n. 12). *Epistola generalis* of Louis the Pious and Lothar, *B.K.* ii, no. 185, p. 4, ll. 15-16; and *Episcoporum ad Hludowicum imperatorem relatio*, *ibid.*, no. 196, p. 28, l. 4.

²² On this subject, see my book *Wat waren de capitularia?* Brussels, 1956 (with an extensive French résumé, 'Les Capitulaires').

²³ See the masterly introduction by the late Father J. de Ghellinck, S.J., to his chapters on the Carolingian Renaissance, *op. cit.*, i, 84-91. Abundant information on the subject is to be found in E. Lesne, *Histoire de la propriété ecclésiastique en France. v. Les Ecoles*, Lille, 1940, pp. 1-43.

²⁴ *B.K.* i, no. 33.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, i, nos. 138-41.

motives, saying clearly what, in the eyes of the emperor, made the edicts necessary, and providing information as to the way in which they were drawn up.²⁶ It suggests not only a greater literary ability on the part of the secretariat, but also a better preparation of the measures themselves.

There also seems to have been an effort to ensure a wider and more regular circulation for the capitularies and for other documents of a similar nature. In the case of certain particularly important edicts the Emperor ordered that the chancellor should have as many as 17 or even 34 copies made, a great number for the time.²⁷ In certain cases the recipients, in particular the archbishops, were charged, in their turn, to see that copies of these copies should be made by the authorities concerned, such as bishops, abbots, counts and so on.²⁸

The problem of the preservation of the capitularies, which was closely connected with that of their circulation, was a subject of serious concern to Louis the Pious and his counsellors. A number of chapters provided for the deposit in the Palace archives of one authentic text of each imperial ordinance. The emperor entrusted the care of these to the chancellor.²⁹ However, the inadequacy of these archives was notorious. It may well be believed that it was because of the encouragement of the monarch that Ansegis, abbot of Saint-Wandrille, on the lower Seine, made a collection of capitularies of Charlemagne and of Louis the Pious, for the purpose of practical consultation. Finished in 827, it was at once put to use when new capitularies had to be drawn up.³⁰

In the fourth place must be mentioned the new offices created with the purpose of getting more order in the Palace and of ensuring a greater regularity in some of its services. Knowing what a leading part was played by the *Palatium* in the government of the empire, it is immediately evident that these measures went further than the framework of domestic life. They involve the *magistri*, new dignitaries placed at the head of certain groups of servants, tradesmen or other persons; these officials must have had duties of supervision, disciplinary powers and in certain cases even jurisdiction.

The most important of them was the *magister ostiariorum*, the chief of

²⁶ *B.K.* i, no. 137.

²⁷ *Constitutio pro Hispanis prima*, A.D. 815, c. 7, *B.K.* i, no. 132: 22 copies (three for each bishopric where Spanish refugees were settled and one for the Archives of the Palace). *Constitutio de Hispanis secunda*, A.D. 816, *ibid.*, no. 133, p. 264: 8 copies (one for each bishopric and one for the archives). The Rules for canons and for canonesses issued at Aachen in 816, ed. A. Werminghoff, *Concilia Aevi Carolini*, i, (*M.G.H.*) nos. 39 A and B (pp. 308 ff., 421 ff.): 17 copies of each Rule, as well as of the circular letter addressed to the archbishops to whom the copies were sent, *B.K.* i, no. 169. There had to be one copy of each of these three documents for every archbishop and there were at that time seventeen archbishoprics in the *Regnum Francorum*. *Admonitio ad omnes regni ordines*, A.D. 825, c. 26, *ibid.*, no. 150: 34 copies of this capitulary and eventually of other ones. There had to be one copy for the archbishop of every archbishopric and one for the count who had his residence in the same city.

²⁸ E.g. the last two cases cited in n. 27.

²⁹ Chapters of this kind are to be found in the texts quoted in n. 27 and in the introduction to the Reform capitularies of 818/19, *B.K.* i, no. 137, p. 275, ll. 12-15.

³⁰ *B.K.* i. 394-450. Ansegis would scarcely have been able to draw up so important a collection if he had not been allowed to consult the archives of the Palace. Louis the Pious begins to quote the capitularies from Ansegis's *Legiloquus Liber* in 829 (Capitularies of Worms; *B.K.* ii, no. 191, c. 5 & 9, no. 192, c. 1 & 8, no. 193, c. 1, 5 & 8).

the court ushers who, among other duties, had the important task of regulating the imperial audiences.³¹ His action may have had the effect of limiting the confusion that had existed in the Palace under Charlemagne, when the too easy access to the monarch had been most embarrassing to him in the exercise of his duty.

Louis the Pious also created a *magister* with authority over the merchants privileged to frequent the Palace; this had its importance for the imperial finances, both because of the dues paid by these *mercatores* and because of their importance in the provisioning of the court.³² Other *magistri* had the duty of supervising the poor wretches who camped around the palace in the hope of approaching the emperor: these people were a source of trouble.³³ There was also a *magister Judeorum*, who seems to have enjoyed extensive power over the Jews, economically very active and rather in favour with Louis the Pious.³⁴

Finally, it seems that in the military sphere, Louis the Pious introduced a reform which was intended to promote a quicker mobilization. Already in the first years of the ninth century, under Charlemagne, we note a tendency to make the territorial districts of the *missi dominici*, or *missatica* permanent and also to grant the offices of *missi* to important personalities, both ecclesiastical and secular (archbishops, bishops, abbots or counts), normally exercising their office proper in their *missaticum*. Thus the archbishop of Sens would be a *missus* in the district including Sens, the count of Paris would be a *missus* in the district including Paris, and so on.³⁵ In 817, at the time of the revolt of Bernard, the emperor's nephew and king of Italy, Louis the Pious made use of this organization in order to mobilize the contingents of some parts of Gaul and Germany which he wanted urgently. Judging from an order of mobilization which has been preserved, those persons who were invested with the quality of *missus*, were warned by the Palace. They themselves transmitted the order to the bishops of their *missaticum* or *legatio*, and these had to transmit it to the abbots, abbesses, counts and royal vassals of their bishopric.³⁶

³¹ *Annales Regni Francorum*, no. 844, p. 159; and Frotharius, bishop of Toul, Letter ii; (*Recueil des Historiens des Gaules et de la France*, vi. pp. 386-7). G. Waitz (*Deutsche Verfassungsgeschichte*, iv. 2nd ed., Berlin, 1882) noticed quite rightly that the *magister ostiariorum* Gerung is mentioned and his activities described by Ermoldus Nigellus, *In honorem Hludowici*, iv. 413-16, *M.G.H. Poetæ* ii. 69; and by Theodulf, *Ad Carolum Regem*, verses 116-24, *ibid.*, i. 486. It can happen that the *magister ostiariorum* is simply called *ostiarus*: diploma of Louis the Pious for the church of Le Mans, A.D. 839, *Rec. Hist. G. et Fr.* vi. 627; diploma of the same emperor for his former *ostiarus* Richard, A.D. 839, *ibid.*, vi. 625-6. No *magister ostiariorum* is mentioned in Charlemagne's time and the *ostiarus* who appears in 788 in the *Codex Carolinus*, nos. 82 and 83 (*M.G.H. Epistolæ*, iii. 615 and 618), as well as in a letter of the same year (Appendix, no. 2, *ibid.*, pp. 655-7), may be a member of the Italian royal household.

³² He is mentioned in the *Præceptum Negotiatorum* of 828 (*Formule Imperiales*, no. 37; ed. K. Zeumer, *Formulæ Merowingici et Karolini Aevi*, (*M.G.H. Legum Sectio v*) pp. 314-15) as *magistri illorum, quem supra ea et super alios negotiatores præponimus*. He is clearly an official with disciplinary power and jurisdiction over the *negotiatores*.

³³ *Capitulare de disciplina palatii Aquisgranensis*, probably issued in the early years of Louis the Pious's reign, *B.K.* i, no. 146, c. 7.

³⁴ Agobard of Lyon, Letter ix, *M.G.H. Epistolæ*, v. 200.

³⁵ See W. A. Eckhardt's article quoted above (n. 8).

³⁶ Order transmitted by Hetti, archbishop of Trier and imperial *missus* to Frotharius, bishop of Toul, Letter xxv (*Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France*, vi. 395-6).

The result was a particular speedy mobilization,³⁷ and it is reasonable to believe that the same method was used more than once. In addition, measures were taken to provide the emperor with exact information about the number of warriors who could be mobilized. Once again the *missi* were called upon: they had to draw up lists of the available forces in their *missaticum*.³⁸

All this, it must be admitted, is still in a sense the story of a failure. We know that the concept of the *respublica*, as well as the notion of the unity of Empire, territorial integrity, and succession to the throne by way of primogeniture without partition, all crumbled during the troubled period between 829 and 843. The efforts made to infuse more regularity, more efficiency and even, if I may use the word, something more rational³⁹ into the institutions of the Frankish monarchy, also proved vain.

The assemblies gradually lost the character of a governmental institution and took the form of meetings for promoting factional interests. The capitularies altered their character and finally disappeared: rapidly in the east and more slowly in the west. Most of the new institutions created in the Palace only lasted a short time; and the same fate befell the reforms of a military order.

My intention has not been to discuss the causes of this unhappy collapse, but only to emphasize certain positive even if not lasting achievements of the reign of Louis the Pious. The effort at political construction in the beginning of the ninth century has been unduly neglected. Though ephemeral, it was none the less very remarkable; I hope that in bringing out this aspect of the period I may have contributed to a better understanding of and judgement on the Carolingian epoch.

³⁷ *Annales Regni Francorum*, no. 817, p. 147.

³⁸ *Capitulare missorum* issued in the spring of 829, c. 5, *B.K.* ii, no. 188. The fact is quoted by H. Conrad, *Geschichte der deutschen Wehrverfassung*, i. 57-8, München, 1939; the author supposes that Charlemagne had already started this reform but there is no evidence to support such a view.

³⁹ There is some progress towards more rational thought to be noticed during the same period. See Liebeschütz's article, quoted above (n. 13).

THE REVOLUTIONARY MENTALITY

IN FRANCE 1793-1794

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IT MAY BE OBJECTED that the title of this article refers to something that has never existed, that there is no such thing as a 'revolutionary mentality' and that in periods of revolution men think and act much as in more normal conditions. This objection may be valid, but is very difficult to put to the test, for if there exists a body of information concerning the behaviour of a certain group of people during the period of the French Revolution, we are much less informed about how they thought and acted in the years before 1789, so that it is not really possible to say how far what we call the revolutionary mentality was a product of the revolutionary situation or how far it was, on the contrary, a continuation of attitudes and prejudices that had already enjoyed a long lease of life during the eighteenth century.

It is possible, on the other hand, to state quite firmly what is *not* meant by this term. The revolutionary mentality is neither a carefully reasoned philosophy of life, nor again a conscious attempt to grapple with all the major problems of the revolutionary period by recourse to a considered body of doctrine. We are concerned here only with the personal attitude of a hypothetical person, called for the sake of convenience the average revolutionary, towards the common events of everyday life in revolutionary France during the high tide of the revolutionary movement, between the summer of 1793 and the late summer of the following year. It is a matter of attitudes, reactions, prejudices, behaviour in the face of given problems and given situations, rather than an ideology derived from any school of thought.

Who is this average revolutionary and how is one to decide on his 'averageness'? Is it not possible that he may in fact be a caricature who, because he makes a great deal of noise and is constantly taking up attitudes, has left some record behind of his activities and utterances, while the voices of his less ambitious or more moderate colleagues fail altogether to reach the historian? In other words, is not the average revolutionary in reality the professional super-revolutionary, the man who quite deliberately goes about making a career for himself in the

revolutionary movement by not only always swimming with the prevailing current, but also, whenever possible, a few lengths ahead of it? Or if this is not so, will he not at least be turned in the orthodox mould and constantly looking over his shoulder to make sure that he is still in step? Before attempting to answer these questions, it will be useful first of all to see how others have portrayed what they believed to be the typical revolutionary, and then to discuss what social groups we have in mind in identifying him, and the source material from which our information can be derived.

The most familiar portrait of the revolutionary of the Paris Section or of the small town is that drawn by the enemies of revolutionary France, in the cartoons of Gillray or in the prints issued in Cologne and Verona, representing, let us say, the members of a revolutionary committee at work: empty wine bottles are rolling on the floor, between the legs of scraggy dogs and scrofulous cats, piles of tarnished silver candelabra and gold plate are stacked on chairs or in corners, while the revolutionaries themselves, unshaven, haggard, squinting or with glazed eyes sit stupidly, under the disapproving gaze of a bust of Marat, some with ladies, gorgeously decked in stolen finery and wearing hats topped with sagging plumes, draped around them like lifebelts; others sleeping loudly with their heads on the table, while watches, necklaces and jewelry dribble from their pockets. The drunken, villainous, wall-eyed brigand of the Coblenz and the London prints (who, incidentally, bears a strong family likeness to the cadaverous, lank-haired, priest-ridden Frenchman of Hogarth's *Calais Gate*) is, of course, little more than a creation of counter-revolutionary fancy and propaganda. It is hardly necessary to add that it is a portrait inaccurate in almost every detail.

More respectable than these caricatures is the evidence of those who survived to recount their experiences in revolutionary prisons: in these memoirs, emphasis is not so much on the depravity of the minor revolutionary official, as on his ingratitude. The most ardent revolutionaries, one gathers from this source, were former servants, valets, coachmen, cooks, butlers, ladies' maids, '*valetaille et piedetaille*'. The 'ungrateful servant' thesis does not bear a close examination, however, and there are many more examples of former servants who accompanied their masters into emigration, who remained behind in an attempt to save their property from confiscation or took immense risks in sheltering nobles on the run. The careful analysis of the incidence both of the Terror and of the emigration carried out by the American historian, Donald Greer,¹ suggests that there was a high percentage of former servants and of skilled artisans in the luxury trades—barbers, engravers, fan-makers and the like—among the victims of the Terror. Revolutionary opinion was extremely suspicious—and not without reason—of all

¹ Donald Greer, *The Incidence of the Terror during the French Revolution*, 1935, and *The Incidence of the Emigration during the French Revolution*, 1951.

those whose living had depended on the favour or the custom of the *ci-devants*.² Could such persons be relied upon to serve faithfully a régime that had brought them loss of custom and grave economic hardship? Many revolutionaries did not think so, but at the same time it was natural that many in this group, thrown out of work by the decline of the luxury trades, should have eagerly sought paid employment under the new revolutionary bureaucracy and should also have attempted to assuage suspicions attaching to their former state by making a great show of revolutionary ardour. Any new régime will bring a host of new possibilities of employment, and posts on revolutionary committees and in other branches of the plethoric revolutionary and wartime bureaucracy created many new openings for people who could show a clean card of political orthodoxy; naturally, there was something of a stampede to get the plums. The *valetaille*, however, never obtained a very considerable share in the distribution of favours.

The average revolutionary is then neither the Gillray wretch with his red cap and squint, nor necessarily the ungrateful servant repaying kindness with plebeian callousness. Politically, he is a member of a Paris Section, in which he might hold revolutionary office, or of the *société populaire* of a town or village, in which he might exercise functions in one of the many committees that came under the control of these revolutionary assemblies. The high-water mark of his active existence as a revolutionary would be between the spring of 1793 and the summer of 1794. We are not concerned here with the administrative importance of this group: it is enough to say that, as an active minority, it fell to them above all to execute the innumerable orders and directives of the huge revolutionary bureaucratic machine.

It is here that there arises the problem of source material. Such men, the humble labourers in the vineyard of the Revolution, are not likely to leave personal records of their activities and to keep diaries recording their day-to-day impressions and intimate convictions. Those who have left us personal reminiscences of their experiences during the Revolution were nearly all victims of the new régime, or at least persons who had little sympathy for the revolutionary aims. Possibly some active revolutionaries on the level we are considering may have occasionally recorded their impressions, but if so such records have not come down to the historian. It is only, then, from collective sources (apart from very occasional personal letters) that the historian can draw his material for what must necessarily be a composite and impressionistic portrait of the average urban or rural revolutionary. We can perceive the *sans-culotte révolutionnaire* as part of a group, not as an individual, and we really know nothing of how he behaved in his home on the sixth or seventh floor (in Paris and other big cities, social distinctions went not

² On the prejudices attaching to former servants and the like in revolutionary circles, see my article 'Le "complot militaire" de ventose an II. Note sur les rapports entre Versailles et Paris au temps de la Terreur', in *Mémoires de la Société historique de Paris et de l'Ile-de-France*, 1956, pp. 221-50.

by quarters, but by storeys) nor what were his principal thoughts and preoccupations: we can see him mainly in his public and collective capacity, in the midst of those clubs—the *sociétés populaires*—in which the presence of his fellows, as well as of a noisy and censorious public in the galleries, might be expected to impose on him a certain desire to conform at least to the most obvious standards of revolutionary orthodoxy. Source material of this kind will inevitably focus attention not so much on the average revolutionary, for that would imply some possibility of comparison, as on the orthodox sans-culotte. As there is a considerable range of collective evidence of this kind, it is quite possible to distinguish between the politically orthodox, the *parfaits sans-culottes révolutionnaires* as they would no doubt have preferred to define themselves, and the genuine rebels, a minority within a minority, most of whom were to suffer the fate reserved for ultra-revolutionaries who, according to official revolutionary logic, were but the other face of the Janus-figure of counter-revolution. But sources of this kind, however widely spread, have very obvious limitations, and the minutes of collective assemblies like the *sociétés populaires*, and even of smaller and more intimate institutions, such as the *comités de surveillance*, give a premium to orthodoxy rather than to sincerity, offering the place of honour to the most vociferous and the most eager revolutionaries, rather than to the average. The picture thus obtained of the collective revolutionary, if not so much of a caricature as the Gillray prints, is nevertheless an over-simplification as well as an exaggeration of certain common traits. In this type of open forum of orthodoxy, pride of place would almost always go to those who slightly overdid the prevailing tendencies. In the choice of material, therefore, I have not deliberately rejected the commonplace in favour of the curious or the fantastic, but have attempted rather to concentrate on those manifestations of revolutionary attitudes that recur the most frequently.

So much for the limitations of a source material that clearly does not allow for precise, mathematical sociological treatment. What then do we mean by an average revolutionary, one who would have described himself, and been recognized by others as a *bon sans-culotte révolutionnaire*? The sans-culottes do not constitute a class but they do represent an identifiable group. They are not drawn from the workers (*ouvriers*), and the lower grades of eighteenth-century French society; the rural day-labourer (*journalier*), the urban wage-earner (*manœuvre, gagne-denier, commissionnaire*, etc.) were seldom admitted as full members to the *sociétés populaires*. They are not necessarily poor, by any standards. Revolutionary terminology is particularly deceptive in this respect for a certain inverted snobbery caused many people to 'democratize' their occupations. Some of those who call themselves artisans, carpenters, joiners, are revealed, when one examines their tax returns, as affluent contractors, employing up to sixty or a hundred labourers, or as comfortable *rentiers* with places in the country bought from confiscated

lands.³ Furthermore, eighteenth-century terminology generally makes no distinction between master and journeyman, between *maître* and *garçon*. From what we do know—thanks primarily to the writings of Soboul, Rudé, Brinton and others—it can be asserted that the backbone of the sans-culotte movement was supplied by master-craftsmen, small employers of labour (in eighteenth-century Paris the average size of a workshop was from four to fourteen *garçons*), small shopkeepers, publicans and *marchands de vin*, the 'better sort of clerks', particularly former *clercs de procureur*, together with a thin sprinkling of professional men—schoolmasters, public letter-writers, *maîtres-d'armes*, and, in the countryside, ex-priests and monks and former pastors of the R.P.R., as well as a few survivors of the luxury trades. Doctors, apothecaries and barbers are rather rare, popular prejudice against them still being strong; lawyers and notaries rarer still save in the smaller towns; in many places there were even efforts to exclude them en bloc from office-holding, along with former priests (though a great many of these got in by the back-door as *greffiers*, secretaries, officials of one kind or another, thanks to their superior education), noblemen and personal servants, as having been the instruments, in one form or another, of the ancien régime.⁴

The revolutionary might also be a professional soldier. Indeed it would be hard to overestimate the contribution made by the regular soldier, especially the non-commissioned officer of the ancien régime, to the revolutionary movement during this period. The Revolution gave these men a brilliant prospect of promotion in the semi-civilian *garde nationale*, in the new armies, or in civilian revolutionary institutions. The part played by this group in the development of a standard, conformist revolutionary pattern of behaviour was all the more effective in that the ex-soldiers, unlike their artisan and shopkeeper counterparts, were less parochial in attitude, had fewer local attachments, and, if they were still serving in the army, or in one of the innumerable organizations that offered posts on the fringes of military life, formed the principal link between the revolutionary movement in Paris or the other big cities and the provinces, and, later, between revolutionary France and the conquered territories. It was people of this type who penetrated the army of Italy and made it into a republican stronghold in which many ardent revolutionaries found a refuge after Thermidor, helping the Italian republicans with their knowledge and experience. Constantly on the move, in many cases a Parisian among provincials, the soldier

³ The case of Jean-Baptiste-Antoine Lefranc, '*charpentier*', commander of the *canonniers* of the Section des Tuileries, in reality a prosperous building-contractor employing at one time over 200 workmen, is an example of this type of verbal deflation. See my '*L'Armée révolutionnaire à Lyon*', Lyon, 1952, Appendix H, pp. 117-19.

⁴ See for instance *Arch. nat.* D III 78 (470) Comité de Législation, Chartres: comité de surveillance de Chartres to the Convention, (18 germinal an II) '*Ne souffrez pas de ces palfreniers de chambre qui croient avoir beaucoup travaillé quand ils ont épongé ceux qu'ils appellent leurs maîtres, forcez-les de devenir libres, en décrétant que, hors l'agriculture, il ne pourra y avoir de valets mâles.*'

or semi-civilian played a leading part in the proceedings of provincial *sociétés*.

The average revolutionary is of course, as I have said, in a sense an abstraction. However, the particular group of people with whom we are concerned did think of themselves, as a unit distinct and identifiable, under the expression *sans-culottes*, while their general attitude to life constituted *sans-culottism*. Both words were used quite consciously and deliberately in 1793 and 1794 to designate the élite of the revolutionary movement. A self-imposed label during the Terror, it became in 1795, in the language of its enemies, a synonym for the *bas peuple*,⁵ which, of course, it never was. The sense in which the term was used during the earlier period may be gathered from a few examples. At Auch, a member of the Jacobin Club explains that *sans-culottism* does not consist in the smallness of one's personal income, but in the sincere cult of equality,⁶ that is, it is not an economic, but a moral category. Another definition, from the Lozère, states that 'true *sans-culottes* [are] men who have no other resources on which to live than the work of their hands',⁷ which may seem at first to imply an economic definition, if one that was seldom attained, for many of the most ardent revolutionaries would not fit into such a category. More correctly, it reflects the moral preoccupation of the average revolutionary, an article of whose creed was the sanctity of work, particularly of useful manual work. For this reason he had little use for artists, scholars and other useless people, branded as *oisifs* along with the aristocracy.

Vingtergnier, a revolutionary professional soldier who ended up by being deported to the Seychelles, similarly stresses the moral factor.

The *sans-culotte* [he writes] is a man who always goes on foot and who lives simply, with his wife and children . . . on the fourth or fifth storey. The *sans-culotte* is useful. He knows how to plough a field, how to hammer and saw, how to cover a roof, make a pair of shoes. And since he works, you are sure not to find him at the *café de Chartres* . . .⁸ In the evening, he goes to the meeting of his Section, not powdered, not scented, nor booted in the hope of being noticed by all the citizenesses in the galleries,⁹ but in order to support to the utmost the right sort of resolutions.¹⁰

An austere, homely man, in fact, for a bachelor cannot be a good revolutionary, it is the duty of a good citizen to raise up children, future '*défenseurs de la patrie*', and bachelorhood is a manifestation of selfish individualism and of a lack of civic sense. The orthodox revolutionary opinion on this subject was no doubt influenced also by current eco-

⁵ E.g. *Arch. Nièvre*. Registre du comité de Corbigny (frimaire an III).

⁶ *Arch. Gers*. L. 694. Société d'Auch (26 ventôse an II).

⁷ *Arch. Lozère*. L. 532. Société de Mende (9 pluviôse an II).

⁸ The café de Chartres, in the galleries of the Palais-Royal, was a favourite meeting place of literary men. In 1793 it was reputed to be a rendezvous for Orleanist agents.

⁹ For a similar condemnation of 'foppery', see *Arch. nat.* D III 306 (31) (Comité de Législation, Yonne, pétition de Héry, 1er pluviôse an III).

¹⁰ Quoted by A. Soboul in 'Problèmes du travail en l'an II', *Journal de Psychologie*, 1955, pp. 39-58.

nomic theories relating a nation's strength and wealth to the size of its population, and there are plenty of indications that the revolutionaries, citizens of the most populated country in Europe at the time, were conscious of France's demographic strength. Social and moral objections to celibacy are well brought out in a petition, typical of many others, presented to the Convention in the summer of 1794 by the revolutionary society of Sens, in favour of a decree penalizing the bachelor,

that hideous monster who engenders nothing [and who] is born of luxury. . . . Virtue will never exist in society so long as there are men who scorn the laws of nature, carrying scandal into society and shame and despair into families; he who does not marry, although normally constituted, cannot in general be virtuous, because, organized like anyone else, he seeks victims everywhere . . . he introduces into society the germs of the passions which sooner or later must subvert it.¹¹

Sans-culottism can be defined, then, not so much in terms of wealth as of moral and civic utility. Indeed, in some places the local revolutionaries denounce those who seek to make invidious distinctions between rich and poor and who use the word in a purely economic sense. A member of the society of the small town of Brie-Comte-Robert, on the highroad from Paris to the Brie cornlands, insists on the necessity of

avoiding those diatribes, those ridiculous attacks against the rich, that base flattery of the poor in speaking of the sans-culottes. . . . I cannot see in this town any rich man [adds the speaker, a prosperous farmer]. I see *some* citizens who are better off than others . . . and we should hope that their numbers increase as much as possible. . . . Let us not flatter the poverty of citizens with the honourable title of sans-culottes. We mean by the word sans-culotte only a good patriot, a friend of liberty.¹²

This was certainly the definition that would have most appealed to the artisans and shopkeepers who formed the cadres of the revolutionary movement. A sans-culotte, we often read, may have a comfortable income provided that it is the recompense of hard work. Property is sacred, so long as it is not excessive. Surplus wealth produces luxury and idleness, and these lead to depravity.

Thus the approach of the revolutionary to the problem of labour is moral rather than social. Every man should engage in some form of useful work, not only because the State needs all hands, but because idleness is evil. The sans-culottes were particularly severe on those who did their work badly and without enthusiasm. The public executioner of the Orne Department was sent before the revolutionary tribunal for having consistently neglected his duties, and, far from keeping his

¹¹ *Arch. nat.* D III 307 (33) (Comité de Législation, société révolutionnaire de Sens à la Convention, 6 prairial an III).

¹² *Arch. com. Brie-Comte-Robert* (Société populaire, 2me registre, séance du 20 germinal an II).

guillotine clean, having allowed it to get into such a filthy condition of rust and dirt that when he was carrying out a public execution in Alençon, it took three attempts to sever the victim's head from his body.¹³ A bad workman was a counter-revolutionary in the making, and so was a worker who went on strike or who attempted to leave his workshop; the pressing needs of war production further accentuated the hostility felt by the average revolutionary to all forms of collective labour agitation.

As his name implies, the sans-culotte is also distinguishable by his dress. He eschews all the frivolous trappings of the ancien régime: powdered wig, scent, silk breeches, silk stockings, bows, buckle shoes, flowered waistcoats, lorgnettes, silver-topped canes and other such foppish fineries.¹⁴ He wears his own hair long, has a simple coat and cotton trousers. Then there is the vexed question of the moustache. Opinions differ strongly as to whether the moustache is or is not a revolutionary emblem. On the whole, the balance would appear to favour this adjunct when worn '*à la gauloise*', that is in the Vercingetorix manner. However, opinion was not unanimous, and country people tended to think of the '*hommes à moustache*' from Paris and the other big cities as bandits, on account of their fearsome appearance,¹⁵ and in the capital itself the long, shaggy moustaches favoured by the officers and soldiers of the civilian *armée révolutionnaire*—as also by General Hanriot and his personal staff—ended by identifying their bearers in the eyes of the general public as partisans of Hébert and the *Père Duchesne*.¹⁶ Beards were definitely proscribed. The Committee of Public Safety allowed the Anabaptists of Alsace and Franche-Comté to retain theirs, but, locally, revolutionary authorities tried to invoke the decree prohibiting all external signs of religious *cultes* as applying to the beards of Anabaptists, rabbis and orthodox Jews. Was not a beard, they argued, a '*signe extérieur du culte*' and '*un reste des préjugés gothiques*'? In many places local committees obliged their wearers to remove these '*marques du fanatisme*'.¹⁷

¹³ *Arch. nat.* D III 194 (Comité de Législation, Alençon, tribunal criminel du Département de l'Orne au Comité de Législation, 5 nivôse an II).

¹⁴ Speaking at the *société populaire* of Tarbes, Monestier du Puy-de-Dôme introduced the members of the club to his colleague Isabeau in the following words: 'Vois, tournez tes regards sur cette société . . . tu ne trouveras pas beaucoup de ces têtes artistement coiffées, pas beaucoup des grandes cravates de trois colliers, pas beaucoup des petites bougles [*sic*] de gilets courts d'habits pincés, pas beaucoup d'eaux de rose des parfums . . . des figures mitonnées, en un mot pas beaucoup des *messieurs*, pas beaucoup de muscadins. Notre langage ressemble en tout à notre costume' (*Arch. Hautes-Pyrénées* L. 1186 bis, société populaire de Tarbes, 21 prairial an II).

¹⁵ For instance, *Arch. nat.* F7 4774 26 d 4 (Louvot-Dubois, affaire de Thieux, Seine-et-Marne) concerning 'un détachement de l'armée révolutionnaire commandé par un chef à qui l'on donne dans les campagnes le nom du *Général Moustache*'.

¹⁶ *Arch. nat.* F7* 2496 (registre du comité de surveillance de la Section de l'Homme-armé, séance du 27 ventôse an II), 'Le comité arrête que le nommé François Carterait . . . se disant brigadier de la gendarmerie serait conduit à la Conciergerie parce qu'il se disoit porteur d'ordre de couper les moustaches aux canonnières et autres personnes, en conséquence nous paroissant très suspect dans la circonstance critique où nous nous trouvons' (a reference to the arrest of the hébertist leaders three days previously).

¹⁷ For instances of this kind at Montbéliard, see my article 'Les débuts de la déchristianisation à Dieppe', *Annales historiques de la Révolution Française*, 1956, pp. 191-209.

Simplicity in dress and manner, a proper married status, regular attendance at the local *société populaire*, the execution of guard duties whenever required, and the undertaking of useful productive work were not enough. No man could be a good revolutionary without virtue, and a great deal of the time of *sociétés populaires* is taken up denouncing members who have misbehaved in one way or another. Thus we find Romme, subsequently one of the 'martyrs of prairial', after delivering a formidable peroration on the standard theme of republican virtue and royalist vice, sending before the revolutionary tribunal an inhabitant of Agen, a revolutionary official, for having attempted to gain the favours of the wife of a prisoner by promising to obtain her husband's release. Such a man, thundered Romme, was a counter-revolutionary, for vice was counter-revolutionary.¹⁸ In most clubs one side of the hall was reserved for women, and often only married couples were allowed to sit together. Women were excluded from some clubs altogether, and the efforts of politically-minded citizenesses to form clubs of their own were eyed with disfavour: the *société républicaine des deux sexes*, known derisively by the Paris sans-culottes as the *société hermaphrodite*, was suppressed. A ruthless war was waged on prostitutes, who were held to be counter-revolutionary: the revolutionary authorities particularly attempted to drive them from the garrison towns. The results of this preoccupation with public virtue were strongly resented by such ardent revolutionaries as the soldiers of the so-called *armée révolutionnaire* on their arrival in Lyon.¹⁹

Obscene literature was hunted down in the book-stores of the Palais-Royal.²⁰ Betting games, carnivals, fancy dress, billiards and cards were unsuitable activities for revolutionaries. Betting deprived fathers of the wherewithal to feed little mouths,²¹ carnivals and masked balls might permit counter-revolutionaries to escape in disguise, and it was both immoral and unlawful for a man to dress as a woman or a woman as a man.²² Billiards, besides using up precious candles in a time when grease was needed for war manufactures, kept revolutionaries away from the clubs in the evening, and it was better not to get the reputation of being

¹⁸ *Arch. Lot-et-Garonne*, 2me Registre de la société d'Agen, 8 messidor.

¹⁹ The attacks made on prostitution by revolutionary authorities were not based only on moral and military considerations. Sans-culotte opinion was inclined to assimilate prostitutes to the other hangers-on of the ancien régime. It was inevitable that sans-culotte opinion should eye with such disfavour a group so patently illustrating all the vices of the ancien régime, all the faults that were the most hateful to these puritanical shopkeepers.

²⁰ *Arch. nat.* BB 3 73 (Comité de surveillance du département de Paris, 3 pluviôse an II).

²¹ *Arch. nat.* D III 177 (23) (Comité de Législation, La Charité: société populaire de la Charité-sur-Loire à la Convention, 3me sans-culottide an II): 'Personne n'ignore quels sont les terribles effets de la passion du jeu poussée à l'excès. Le père y oublie sa famille, le magistrat son devoir, le patriote y laisse impunément sonner l'heure de la séance de la société'.

²² *Arch. Marne* Registre (non-inventorié) du comité de surveillance de Sainte-Ménéhould. 'Séance du 26 pluviôse . . . le comité prend des mesures contre des citoyens qui se disposent à se travestir dans ces jours nommés ci-devant gras. On fera proclamer la loi du 7 août 1793'. One exception was, however, encouraged: that of patriotic girls who dressed up as men to enlist: according to revolutionary propaganda several of these covered themselves with glory on the battlefield.

lukewarm as far as the meetings were concerned.²³ Cards often led to brawls, and, save on the rare revolutionary packs, bore the figures of kings and queens and other feudal symbols.

The revolutionary was allowed one outlet: it was generally accepted that a good *sans-culotte* was entitled to his drink. Wine was necessary for health, it had nutritive qualities and in time of food-shortage could replace all solid foods save bread; it was a warrior's drink and gave force to the arm of the ploughman.²⁴ In Normandy similar virtues were claimed for cider. The revolutionary, so severe where some other passions were involved, was unexpectedly tolerant of drunkards, and revolutionary tribunals were extremely indulgent when it could be proved that counter-revolutionary utterances had been made under the influence of wine. The *sociétés populaires* did their best to keep noisy drunkards away from their meetings, but anyone who has consulted many of their minutes gains a very strong impression that much of the noise, disorder, shouting and quarrelling that so often held up proceedings was due to intoxication. Wine stains, not blood stains, are fairly common on the pages of these minute books, written often in a trembling hand. This is not at all to suggest that the Revolution was a sort of non-stop bacchanalia, but that partial drunkenness was often an important component in a certain type of revolutionary excitability, particularly in meetings or committees. In 1793-4, the urban population was consistently under-nourished and the *sans-culottes* often drank a great deal of wine of the lowest quality—the *vin de Choisy* was notorious for its high chemical content—on an almost empty stomach. The *aubergistes* and the *limonadiers* whose establishments were situated on the great highways played a particularly important part in the political life of the provinces, transmitting the news, ideas and propaganda brought to them by the soldiers who passed through on the way to the armies on the frontiers.

Civic balls and dances, often in former churches, were given official encouragement, to celebrate great events such as the recapture of Toulon. Civic banquets were another feature of the revolutionary's collective leisure. France being very short of food, and food being rationed, these were often rather dreary affairs, consisting of many speeches and patriotic songs and only one course—the '*plat-républicain*'. These banquets were also intended as a substitute for the old religious feast-days, revolutionary symbolism taking the place of Christian.²⁵

²³ *Arch. Haute-Saône* 361 L I (société populaire de Gray, 21 frimaire an II). 'Un membre a demandé que la société fit une pétition à la municipalité pour défendre toute espèce de danse jusqu'à la paix et pour faire fermer les cabarets à 10 heures du soir.' This was an example of war-time rather than of specifically revolutionary puritanism.

²⁴ *Arch. Savoie* L. 1770 (District de Chambéry, séance du 4 frimaire an II).

²⁵ These banquets were sometimes rendered more light-hearted by such incidents as that which occurred when sixty citizens and their families of the Section du Bonconseil, in Paris, sat down to table at the *Panier-Fleuri*: no sooner had the plates been served than the guests perceived with horror that each plate bore a feudal emblem: the publican was called for and was asked to remove the offending plates, but this he refused to do, adding that if the citizens were so ticklish in their republican sentiments, they could eat off the table without plates. This they proceeded to do, but not without first smashing 180 of the offending plates, which they later refused to pay for (*Arch. nat.* F7 4774 80 d5 Pottier). A *pâtissier* of the Section

The revolutionaries were optimists; they were convinced that they were in the process of creating not only a new form of society, but also a new revolutionary man, virtuous, serious, patriotic. Hence, in the revolutionary régime, the cult of youth and the idolization of children, seen as the guarantors of the future. Much time was given, in *sociétés populaires*, to the interminable delegations of little citizens and citizenesses, led by their school-teachers, reciting the Declaration of the Rights of Man and singing patriotic songs. There are a number of instances of small children appearing as witnesses before the revolutionary tribunals and the *comités de surveillance*. At the same time, little mercy was shown towards 'uncivic' children: when two little girls of eight and nine admitted to having pencilled a black moustache on the bust of Marat that stood in the foyer of the theatre at le Havre, the rather sensible Norman revolutionaries took the matter very much to heart.²⁶ There are plenty of cases of children of fourteen and fifteen being guillotined, particularly in Lyon and Marseille. This, of course, should be attributed to normal eighteenth-century judicial standards which treated children in their teens as responsible adults. Revolutionary justice was indeed more humane in this respect than the judicial system of the ancien régime.

In most respects, of course, revolutionary France was a young man's country. It provided new opportunities for the young and looked to the future with unqualified optimism. The ardent patriotism of youth was common to all the revolutionaries. A measure of generosity towards individual foreigners in France, including prisoners of war, was combined with an intense nationalist hatred for all foreign enemies, or supposed enemies. Cosmopolitanism was a crime. Revolutionary centralization, and the attempt to suppress regional differences, especially in language—Jean-Bon-Saint-André and his colleagues complain frequently of the way in which the Breton peasants cling to their 'Gothic jargon'—go along with this.

In their desire to break with the past the revolutionaries also turned their attention to manners. Bowing and scraping and the kissing of hands were branded as decadent, while the *Club national* of Bordeaux prohibited clapping, as a form of applause worthy only of slaves. 'Expressions of joy and agreement', decreed a resolution of this club, 'should henceforth be made through the medium of the virile and republican word *Bravo*.'²⁷ A club in the Indre denounced 'the custom of saluting one another with a great sweep of the hat' and recommended a curt sign with the hand.²⁸

des Amis de la Patrie, in order to satisfy popular demand for the *gâteau des rois*, the traditional Epiphany cake dear to all French families, in nivôse an II, hit upon the simple solution of calling his cakes *gâteaux Marat*, and both his customers and revolutionary orthodoxy were satisfied (*Arch. nat.* F7 4669 d3 Dennevers).

²⁶ *Arch. Havre* D 2 38 (Conseil général de la commune).

²⁷ *Arch. Gironde* II L 27 (Club national de Bordeaux, séance du 6 brumaire an II).

²⁸ *Arch. Indre* L. 1581 (société populaire de Châteauroux, séance du 22 brumaire an II).

This preoccupation with a complete break with the past received its most absurd expression in the wave of 'debaptizations' that swept France in the autumn and winter of 1793. Place names were the first to suffer, to be followed by Christian names drawn from the Saints' calendar. After France had become at least nominally peopled with Anacharsises, William Tells, Marats, Gracchi, the more ardent revolutionaries, particularly those of the Midi, fell back on the names of useful plants, trees, fruit and even fish. The list of the members of the *société populaire* of Perpignan reads like a seedsman's catalogue: *Absinthe* Jalabert, *Haricot* Vidal, *Endive* Pagès, *Erable* Fabre. An inhabitant of Lyon named Février took the first name of *Janvier*.²⁹

In the countryside, a certain peasant common-sense and inertia acted as a check on the more fantastic forms of revolutionary enthusiasm. Orders were given for the destruction everywhere of wayside crosses: but many rural revolutionaries, anxious not to antagonize their fellows, invoked shortage of labour and the expense of the operation to delay carrying out this and similar orders. By delaying tactics and by the force of rural inertia many village municipalities went through the Terror with the external aspects of rural life largely unchanged. The true sans-culotte was essentially a town-dweller.

He seems to have had scant respect for learning and the arts. At Auch, a member 'proposes that no man of letters of this town be received in this club for three years, but that sans-culottes be admitted at once', and the club decided that 'those who have received a careful education be excluded'.³⁰ It should not be inferred from resolutions of this sort that the revolutionaries were resolutely philistine: what they were trying to do at Auch was to exclude from revolutionary office-holding, which was one of the perquisites derived from membership of a club, all those who had enjoyed privileges in the course of the ancien régime, and what greater privilege than education?

Anyone who reads for the first time the minutes of local revolutionary clubs and other bodies will be surprised by the almost complete absence of political discussion and by the credulity displayed in accepting the official version of important political changes. Clubs which had subscribed to the *Père Duchesne* and whose members even copied the

²⁹ *Arch. Pyrénées-orientales* L. 1454 (*société populaire de Perpignan*). A Parisian, *Jean-François Lyon*, took the name of *Aristide Lille*: 'le nom de Lyon lui inspirait trop d'horreur' (*Arch. nat.* F7 4774 27 d5). One should add that much sans-culotte opinion treated with suspicion this particular type of extravagance, which, it was felt, tended to make the new régime appear ridiculous. It was also suggested that many of those who were so anxious to change their names were in fact people who had something to hide. As in any revolutionary movement, some of those who were the most anxious to prove their revolutionary zeal by exaggerated professions of faith and by ostentatious gestures had a political or criminal past that did not bear too close a scrutiny. There was much foundation for the current suspicion of the more modest sans-culottes towards those who *affectaient des principes exagérés*, along with *bonnet rouge*, pipe, moustache, sabre and all the other paraphernalia of the perfect revolutionary.

³⁰ *Arch. Gers* L. 694, registre de la société populaire d'Auch. Cf. *Arch. Isère* L. 936 (*société populaire de Bourgoin*, 27 thermidor an II). 'Les hommes qui savoient lire, écrire et avoient de l'esprit étoient fort dangereux à la république' (a remark attributed to Sadet).

pungent Parisian slang of which its able demagogic journalist was a master, the moment he had fallen accepted without a murmur the official account representing Hébert as a counter-revolutionary agent of foreign powers, and lost not a day in sending congratulatory addresses to the Convention and to the Committees thanking them for their vigilance in saving the Republic from him. Events such as the execution of Danton or the Neuf Thermidor are accepted with the same unquestioning trust, when they receive a mention at all. In a great many minutes the major political events in Paris are passed over in complete silence.

This apparent political supineness was probably not due to fear, to time-serving orthodoxy, or to the desire to be on the right side: plenty of clubs admitted candidly, after the execution of Hébert, that they had been taken in by the *Père Duchesne*, whom they had believed to be a genuine revolutionary patriot. The revolutionaries were extremely naïve politically, they had an almost religious trust in their representatives and in the Convention. Their readiness to believe in even the most fantastic constructions of Fouquier-Tinville's judicial imagination is to some extent explicable by the long series of myths and popular legends about 'famine pacts' and 'foreign plots'. From 1789 onwards, the average revolutionary lived in an almost physical fear of a counter-revolutionary *coup*: moreover, plots and conspiracies were not merely figments of popular imagination and of official propaganda, there *were* plots, there *was* collusion between ultra- and counter-revolutionaries.

Of course, one would hardly expect to find voices of dissent in such public assemblies as the *sociétés populaires*, whatever individual revolutionaries may have thought in their heart of hearts. It would be naïve indeed to expect open discussion of the major political issues of the period in every urban or rural club. But such discussions were impossible primarily because of lack of information. When local revolutionaries were engaged in discussing people or questions that they knew well, they were quite capable of expressing most unorthodox views and of attacking with the greatest bitterness their own local representatives. What was lacking was political discussion on national issues and on the day-to-day Paris scene. And, when all is said and done, most revolutionaries in the provinces were far more interested in concrete problems concerning the food shortage, the rigours of the season, the lack of raw materials, the shortage of labour, hoarding, rising prices and a depreciating currency, than in political events in the capital. Everyday life in small provincial towns during the Terror was far less dramatic than is often imagined, and the realities of life were the queues and the black market rather than the guillotine and the *trompette guerrière*. Local societies showed much more interest in projects for improving communications and for obtaining contracts for local industries than in political discussion, and if they successively celebrated the *Fête de la Raison* and then that of the Supreme Being, if at one time they took in

and applauded the *Père Duchesne* and later devoted themselves to somewhat academic discussions on the evils of atheism, if they voted congratulatory addresses to Robespierre and to Collot d'Herbois on their escape from an assassin's bullets and, a few weeks later, were congratulating the Committees on having nipped in the bud the appalling plots of the former, neither official pressure nor open threats ever prevented them from discussing the forbidden and especially dangerous subject of food supplies, so that the only way in the end to ensure that this explosive matter was not dragged into the open was to close the clubs.

Nor were the revolutionaries cowards and time-servers: there were of course a certain proportion of these, especially among those who had been most vociferous and who had made themselves the most conspicuous in taking revolutionary names and in other eccentricities of that type.³¹ But, during the period between 1795 and 1816, many of the better-known revolutionaries, both from Paris and the provinces, were to be ruined economically, and a few thousand were to be imprisoned, shot or deported for the fidelity with which they were prepared to defend, in time of adversity, the political and moral standards that they had so zealously preached in their brief period of power.

Of course, such revolutionaries as have been considered in this article only represented a tiny minority, just as the *sociétés populaires* themselves accounted for less than 5 per cent of the population of many of the localities in which they existed; and it was their small numbers that were to accentuate their isolation from the mass of the people and greatly to facilitate the task of Fouché's police in the years of repression. Even at its height, however, the revolutionary movement suffered from indifference and public inertia. This was especially true of the rural communities, where the activities of both *comités de surveillance* and clubs were largely seasonal: both might thrive in the autumn and winter months, but the spring sowings put an end to the collective political activities of such rural *sans-culottes* as there were: there are constant

³¹ One of the most conspicuous and successful of these professional revolutionaries, who took part in the revolutionary movement for the material advantages that they could get out of it, was the self-styled patriot Palloy, a wealthy architect with a large house at Sceaux, who hit upon publicizing himself by doing a brisk trade in stones of the Bastille, which he supplied, for payment, to any *société* in France. Palloy never missed an occasion to blow his own patriotic trumpet, and when he was not peddling Bastille reproductions, he was composing odes and patriotic hymns suitable to every revolutionary occasion. At Sceaux he entirely controlled the local *société*, which he used as an instrument for his own publicity. One is not surprised to find him, at later stages of his career, composing laudatory odes to the Emperor and welcoming Louis XVIII to Sceaux with an adulatory poem.

There were many Palloys in the provinces, but it was above all in the army that one finds some of the most unscrupulous career revolutionaries. The personal dossiers of many high-ranking officers who gained promotion under Bouchotte and who were particularly flamboyant in the display of revolutionary enthusiasm are often most revealing as to the strength of the convictions so loudly—and profitably—expressed. We may thus see former commanders of *armées révolutionnaires*, men who took an active part in the *sociétés populaires* of fortress towns and who did not allow themselves to be outdone by anyone when it was a question of making revolutionary resolutions, humbly and respectfully presenting their claims to a *croix de Saint-Louis* when the time came, in 1814 or 1815, to emphasize their undying respect for the dynasty. The former soldiers of the ancien régime, who, as a group, gained more from the Revolution than almost anybody else, were often the first to betray it and to adjust themselves to each régime that followed.

references to rural *sociétés* being closed down for lack of attendance, the whole population being engaged in field work. Even in the big urban *sociétés* there recurs a constant and anxious complaint: attendance is slipping dangerously, members are not turning up to meetings, it becomes more and more difficult to form a quorum large enough to carry on business, many 'brothers' only come when there is a *scrutin épuratoire* and once they have obtained a clean bill of revolutionary health, they go off with their *certificat de civisme* in their pocket and are seen no more. Despite threats of permanent expulsion against those who absented themselves from more than three sessions running, the leaders of these *sociétés* were already losing the uphill fight against absenteeism in the spring and summer months of 1794, long before the rigours of the year III, when even the most enthusiastic sans-culottes did not feel inclined to sit about in freezing conditions such as had not been experienced since 1709. This decline in political interest and growth of public indifference can be dated from the months of March and April 1794, when, with the fall of the *hébertistes*, the clubs both in Paris and in the provinces found themselves reduced more and more to a passive and congratulatory rôle: as there was nothing more of interest to talk about, people naturally stopped coming. But even at the height of the revolutionary movement, clubs containing a total membership of five or six hundred very rarely saw more than a hundred and fifty or two hundred at any one session.³²

The greatest threat, then, to the existence of that artificial, collective man, the *parfait sans-culotte révolutionnaire*, came rather from human nature than from the efforts of the enemies of the Revolution. The sans-culottes set too high a standard, their revolutionary man was too perfect to be true, and if from the purely human point of view there existed what might be called a revolutionary temperament, a factor quite as important in explaining the general comportment of the average sans-culotte as any political affiliations, such a temperament could not resist the pressure of time, boredom, fatigue and laziness. To understand the small minority that remained faithful to their former ideals, one is driven to seek the key to their surprising steadfastness in character and in temperament rather than in social and political background. The general mass of sans-culottes, on the other hand, fell away without more than a murmur and disappeared once more into the political limbo of the years 1795-1815.

It may be objected that the purely impressionistic portrait I have attempted to give of the average, rather than of the perfect, revolutionary, is as much a caricature as the prints and cartoons of London and Verona. I do not think, however, that to suggest that revolutionaries took themselves very seriously, that they were lacking in irony and flippancy, that they were often unimaginative, prejudiced and ignorant,

³² For attendance figures over a period of a year in an urban club, see my article 'Politique et subsistances en l'an III: l'exemple du Havre', *Annales de Normandie*, 1955, pp. 135-59.

is unfair. If the average revolutionary did not belong to any clearly defined sociological category, he did in fact have both the virtues and the limitations of the small tradesman: economically a reactionary fighting against industrial concentration, he was puritanical and even priggish, extremely independent, unimaginative and prejudiced, an anti-feminist and often a busybody: he was hard-working, a good family man and generally honest. Despite all the efforts of Thermidorian propaganda, the tribunals of the year III were seldom able to substantiate charges of theft and speculation against men who had articles of great value passing continuously through their hands.

The revolutionaries, in short, were enthusiasts; their sincerity was patent, if naïve, and, in some cases, was to be very dearly paid for; and just as there is a revolutionary temperament as distinct from an authoritarian temperament, so among historians there will inevitably be those who feel an instinctive sympathy for these enthusiastic, if sometimes misguided, workers in the vineyards of the Revolution, and those who on the contrary will dismiss them as trouble-makers, hooligans or time-serving followers of a party line.

My portrait of the revolutionary is incomplete in many respects. The whole problem of terrorism, for example, needs separate treatment. I have deliberately limited myself to illustrating some of the more personal traits of the revolutionary mentality, without embarking on a discussion of their rather vague economic aspirations, of the attitude of the sans-culottes towards the clergy and towards Catholicism, towards strikes and wage-claims, towards charity and pauperism, of their vague gropings at theories of popular sovereignty. This is only an interim report but I hope that it will correct some illusions and help to give actuality to a group of people that has only recently come into the categories of serious history.

THE SELECTION OF STUDENTS FOR HISTORY HONOURS: II

I

FIRST, GRATITUDE IS DUE to the Editor of *History* for enabling colleges and schools to state their views and problems to each other. Both dons and teachers have to grapple with the fact that too many candidates are chasing too few places. The very able candidates are seldom missed by selectors: it is the large mass of 'well taught, hard working' ones that baffles them. It baffles those responsible for presenting them. It is only recently that the boys' schools have had to meet the fierce competition which the girls' schools have faced for a large number of years. There are just as many girls as boys in the sixth forms and there are far fewer places for them at university level: a boy's goal is an open scholarship while his sister is satisfied with a place at the university of her choice. The competition is comparable.

The Historical Association Pamphlet Number 17, published early this year, on *Sixth Form History Teaching*, explains with admirable clarity the history teachers' dilemma. For financial reasons it is essential for most candidates to take in theory two, but in practice three, subjects at Advanced Level, with two at Scholarship Level. It is not easy to get girls to stay a third year for open scholarships, though this is becoming increasingly necessary.

If one university stresses the need for 'plenty of intellectual interests, a good command of Latin and at least one modern language, a capacity to reason and a genuine enthusiasm but not necessarily much historical information', another says categorically 65 per cent (or some definite mark) in history at Advanced Level is the essential qualification for the promised place. The Advanced Level History papers (essential for financial reasons as well) demand a good deal of information. The lively mind tends to lose its freshness trying to meet demands so many and various. If the candidate is able to say, 'That university and no other. I need no financial help', then her chances of pleasing the Admissions Tutor are greater. But few candidates can afford to apply to one university only or by-pass Advanced Level.

The emotional strain of applying to so many universities, waiting for interviews, waiting for results in the months before taking the Advanced Level examinations is very great. Nowadays, the candidate to an Honours School of History needs something more than the spark of intellectual initiative and curiosity. She needs good nerves and a stout morale.

Wimbledon High School

M. M. BURKE

II

If I were a don, what sort of candidate should I look for? In the history papers, one more interested in the questions attempted than in giving the 'right' answers—having perhaps a certain innocence, such as pre-occupation with answers rather than questions kills; able to *use* a reasonable minimum of facts, with clearness enough to explain what enough warmth inspires him to say. Two kinds of candidate add other qualities, rare and desirable: the tongue of the one occasionally steals into his cheek, or is even thrust out, with becoming modesty; the other is a man of *humble* conviction, with intellect to sustain it.

In the essay he can hardly be profound, except at second hand. Let him make a good beginning and a better end, and let the quiet stream of his argument carry me graciously from one paragraph to the next, so that I should like to continue our conversation (which an essay is) in a viva. In the general paper let him write to please himself, if only he will punctuate with discrimination; he is hardly likely to please me, but anything is preferable to hashed-up scraps of someone else. He should translate not worse than I did at his age.

These remarks on the separate papers are largely interchangeable. Tomorrow I may think differently, but I shall not be looking for a young civil servant, and always I should prefer good raw material; it is such a waste of time to have to undo the well-meant but misguided work of others.

Chigwell School

ARNOLD FELLOWS

III

In the narrowly historical context an Honours School of History demands a reasonable degree of intellectual ability and historical imagination. It also requires the ability to read fairly fluently in either French or German, and for its medieval history a working knowledge of Latin. If Passes at the Advanced Level of the General Certificate of Education are taken as evidence of these qualifications, then a pass in History with Foreign Texts is sufficient. But these are minimum standards, and unsatisfactory. To ask, as some universities and colleges do, for two or even three passes at Advanced Level gains and proves nothing, but merely overburdens sixth form timetables with specific examination requirements at the expense of more flexible and general education. The best answer is for colleges to continue to examine their own applicants—as most of them do—and thus assess their qualifications for entry, particularly as the more general, and more important, qualities expected of an honours student can only be assessed in a personal interview.

It is the assessment of these personal qualities which is the most important element in selection. To take an honours course in history is not, of course, to study history within defined limits for three years in order to obtain a degree. The scope of the course is vast; its limits vague; the depth to which study is pursued, and the lines along which it proceeds are determined largely by the individual himself, and progress is made not through prescribed lectures or dictated notes, but in response to the stimuli provided by one's contemporaries and their ideas, by the whole intellectual and social diversity and activity of academic society and university life. It is against

the demands and opportunities of this milieu that candidates must be assessed.

It was Sir Charles Firth who said, 'It is the school's job to make a boy love history, the university's to teach him some,' and except insofar as it shows that the candidate can work, and can learn something, evidence of historical knowledge by itself is useless. What is required is proof of love of history, of interest in it, and in life generally. The candidate must show that he has begun to think about the value of history as a study, about its ideals, methods and aims, about his own purposes in studying it. He must have started to think for himself; begun to criticize, not merely to copy; to have ideas and opinions—not necessarily right, but his own; to show intellectual curiosity and initiative: as one Oxford don said recently, 'I am all for the schoolboy sowing some intellectual wild oats, otherwise there will be no harvest later.' The candidate must also have active interests outside history, and show not merely that he has done much, and been interested in many things, but that he has made full use of his own talents and opportunities.

In short, the aim should be to select boys with minds and personalities of their own, interested in history and in life, who are going to enjoy honours history, make the best and widest use of three undergraduate years, enrich the society in which they pass those years, and themselves benefit in the process. As far as the actual mechanism of selection is concerned the traditional combination of a history paper, a general paper, and an essay paper with an interview is probably most satisfactory. In this arrangement the interview should be the most important element, though supplemented by the essay and general papers, and by the school's report, for if a school can be mistaken about a boy so too can a college.

The Leys School, Cambridge

L. G. D. BAKER

IV

First, let me confess that I have no interesting grumbles. The debate to which Mrs. Lindsay refers no doubt still goes on, but I cannot help feeling that it is rather unreal. Dons may say that they are satisfied with 'not much historical information' and schoolteachers may reply that 'a good deal of historical information' is in fact demanded of their candidates; but after all a don who talks about 'not much information' and a schoolteacher who talks about 'a good deal of information' are referring to much the same thing, for their standards are bound to be different. Linguistic usage may vary, but there is surely no substantial misunderstanding. In our experience at least, dons do in fact demand the amount of historical knowledge that can reasonably be expected of an able and industrious boy who has specialized in history for two or three years and has spent a proper proportion of his time on Latin and French, on reading 'off the period' and on other worthwhile cultural interests.

At Christ's Hospital our technique has been based for a long time on the tutorial system, with periodical group discussions but no formal lectures. Similarly, we make no attempt to organize any kind of 'general' course; each boy is expected to follow his own bent—which may be literary, political, philosophical, architectural, etc.—and to open a discussion on one of his chosen topics from time to time. And we do not regard a crowded G.C.E.

programme as the same thing as a good general education (I would be more inclined to call it an obstacle to it). No history specialist has ever taken more than one other subject at A Level. We have even been happy for boys who seemed certain of open awards to skip A Level altogether.

We run two parallel history courses: a medieval course, which is combined with foreign texts, and a late modern course, which is combined with Geography. Most, but not all, of the more promising historians choose the first alternative. It seems generally agreed that medieval history provides a good grounding for the future undergraduate, while some acquaintance with more recent history seems best for the boy who is unlikely to carry his studies beyond A Level. But there is a good deal of overlap of ability between the two forms, and university candidates come from both.

We do try to avoid over-teaching our candidates for places, or displaying any great anxiety that they should be successful. We could not claim to be quite as disinterested towards candidates for awards, but here we are saved (I hope) from over-teaching by the knowledge that at this level it is simply self-defeating.

Christ's Hospital, Horsham

M. T. CHERNIAVSKY

V

The G.C.E. examination largely determines the content and form of grammar school education because of its value to school leavers and to those who stay in order to gain a local authority award and entrance to the university. The universities themselves base their matriculation requirements on the G.C.E. and demand a certain spread of subjects without apparently getting the general education which they are seeking to ensure. Acceptance by the college or university may depend upon performance in A Level subjects, sometimes upon reaching a fairly high percentage mark. This test is quite arbitrary since even if the different boards have the same standard, they certainly do not have the same pass marks. In this way some provincial universities are rejecting candidates who gain acceptance at Oxford or Cambridge. Again, three subjects are often preferred to two at A Level, and this combined with the percentage requirement invites the kind of intensive teaching which is often blamed for subsequent failure.

The assumption that the greater the number of subjects the broader the education, is not true. Selectors should remember the limitations of the school timetable. Allowing for periods devoted to physical, religious and æsthetic education in the sixth, about twenty-five periods a week will be left for intellectual preparation. Three A Level subjects will absorb practically the whole of this time and make heavy demands on out of school time for private study (I have heard fifteen hours a week suggested as a minimum). It is not surprising therefore, to quote some of the shortcomings mentioned, if essay technique is weak, reading is very much restricted, languages are neglected and medieval history is almost unknown.

By contrast it is worth noting that the women's colleges at Oxford and Cambridge are on the whole satisfied with their selection. This is no doubt partly due to the very strong competition for places, but partly to the fact that they do examine for evidence of qualities they require instead of making

use of an examination which cannot test, and certainly does not stimulate, these qualities. I believe that in their own interests others will have to follow suit, and that will involve the adoption of a *common* entrance examination as a preliminary to interview. Even on their present scale, separate entrance examinations for the various colleges and universities disrupt the sixth form work of the candidates.

The improved understanding between schools and universities which is a very welcome development of recent years is not likely to make much difference to the quality of the students without changes in the G.C.E. requirements. The universities as examining bodies for the G.C.E. can influence it directly, and as selectors of students they can set their own standard, either through a modified G.C.E. or through a common entrance examination. Until they do so, they will continue to get the students they deserve.

Warwick School

L. W. HERNE

VI

Preparation of our sixth formers for admission to Honours Courses in History is complicated as for other subjects by the different emphasis placed on requirements—in some instances, as the article in February *History* showed, even different requirements—of the universities. They should follow the Advanced Level course in French, Latin and History thought desirable by a number of universities while giving the generous allowance of time to the study of English Literature and Language, together with other 'general' subjects in the sixth form—Music, Religious Knowledge, Speech Training, Current Affairs or Civics—that we think necessary for their general education. Yet much time should be left for the wide reading and sensible indulgence of private taste and interests that will be useful evidence of ability and scholarship in General and Essay Papers.

It is impossible for the average girls' school to think of sixth form history teaching merely in terms of potential history candidates to the university. Should staffing make it fortunately possible for all levels—lower sixth, upper sixth and third-year sixth—to be taught separately, and for scholarship candidates to have some additional periods, which is by no means possible in all schools, there will still be girls in each history group who are hoping to read for degrees in other subjects for which entry may be obtained on history, such as P.P.E., Sociology or Law and for which different emphases are required. There will be, too, girls going to Training Colleges or into the Civil Service; in fact any who may be taking history as a subject in the sixth form. Before the sixth form these girls will normally have had only an average of two forty-minute periods a week through the school to provide a general background in history, and many will not have the home background which provides much of such information as part of a way of life.

At present it is still true to say that the right girls do get a place somewhere, but, of course, by no means always at their first or second choice of university—often at their fourth or fifth. The round of entrance and scholarship examinations—probably Oxford, Cambridge, London, and one provincial university—is most exhausting for a girl, particularly if it has to be done in conjunction with somewhat differing requirements of the A and S

Level of the G.C.E. What a pity entrance scripts could not be passed on for sorting by a university or college with a later examination date! The General Paper and Use of English Paper set by Cambridge for State Scholarship applicants seem valuable in testing the same qualities as those required by the universities. Do any universities take serious cognizance of these results before granting admission to candidates?

Many Head Mistresses and History Staff also note ruefully that, although over-teaching may be deplored by the universities and the acquisition of much historical information not required, in many years some of the few and precious Open Scholarships and Exhibitions go to candidates who have had at least a few months at a coaching establishment. Is it greater liveliness of mind, critical powers, and enthusiasm, or more historical information with the right emphasis for the particular college which has produced their success? Are the universities perhaps expecting too much of their own work done? Are the schools, faced by competitive entry for their pupils trying to do too much of what is really not in their province? And is a compulsory intermediate fourth year required, with four-year grants and admission given on a wider number of subjects to a lower standard?

Bournemouth School for Girls

M. G. KEY and C. PETHERICK

VII

I am not a historian, and it is, I understand, for that reason that I have been invited to contribute to this symposium: it is hoped that one whose main interest is in education may be able to express a rather different point of view from those expressed by teachers of history. The question is the same for all contributors: What are the qualities and qualifications desirable in a sixth former for the successful study of history in an Honours School at the university? But our answers may be different. In attempting to answer this question we are bound to have at the back of our minds some conception of the educational value of history as an intellectual discipline, and I would suggest that we must interpret the 'successful study of history' not only by the class obtained in the final Honours School. History may well be the best form of a liberal education for many who do not obtain high Honours: and it may not be the best form of a liberal education for those who do. Finally, by way of introduction, we are asked to consider 'those who want to go to the university to read history': why do they want to do this? The answer to that question would certainly help us in making the right selection, and I would suggest that selectors should pay particular attention to it.

We may broadly classify sixth formers in four main groups. There are first the natural scholars, whose intellectual abilities are such that they would probably do well in any Honours School: for these history may or may not be the best subject to read. Secondly, there are those who 'like history', but have so far displayed no special gifts for it: their liking may be due to their having found it a comparatively easy school subject and having done well at it, or it may be due to the influence of a particular teacher or teachers. For these history is likely to be the most satisfying and the most educational university subject, even though they may not rise higher than a second class in this final Honours School. Thirdly, there are those who 'want to go to the

university' (or whose parents want them to), are prepared to read anything when they get there, and choose history perhaps out of an erroneous idea that it is a soft option: whether these will do well enough in history, or (and this is more important) whether history will do well enough for them, really depends on why they want to go to the university. Finally, there are those who barely struggle into the sixth form after an indifferent performance at O Level: it is not likely that many university historians will be found among these, but it is always possible that the stimulus of sixth form work and later of university work may produce a highly original historian from among them, and we must never shut our eyes to that possibility. Indeed, the intellectual stimulus at these stages sometimes has surprising effects on members of the other groups also.

Future students of history may therefore be looked for in each group: it is also true that mistakes in selecting them may be made in each group, in the first no less than in the others. What are the qualities and qualifications to be looked for, whichever the group, in making our selection? I will deal with qualities first, and then with qualifications, which I shall interpret as other than examination qualifications.¹ I would put first the quality of curiosity, and a curiosity about questions rather than about answers. We want the boy² whose primary interest is in questions, but who is quite prepared to find his own answers, which he greatly prefers to the answers of other people and which he is ready to accept as provisional—indeed as a step to further questions. In this his attitude is that of the good scientist. He will go to his books to find the questions rather than the answers, and he should know what books to go to: if he does, he will find himself reading all kinds of books outside any narrowly-conceived historical syllabus, and we hope that he will have been taught how to read them, with a critical but receptive mind, and be capable of extracting *quickly* what they have to tell him. He needs in fact the attitude of a detective, with whose activities Herbert Butterfield finds the only appropriate analogy to the authentic work of historical reconstruction. Second I would put an interest in human beings, as an antidote to any tendency to regard history as a matter of 'movements' in a textbook or the abstract conflict of impersonal forces. Boys at school very easily adopt this dehumanized attitude; it was the attitude of a clever sixth former whom I once taught and whose father said to me, 'He must get a history scholarship at the university: history is the only thing he is interested in'; I thought that a bad recommendation, and though he won his scholarship and turned out a competent historian, he was not a well-educated man; had his father said, 'He is interested in history, because he is interested in so many other things, in people and in what they do', I should have felt more hopeful. And this interest in people should lead on to an interest in contemporary politics and in current affairs, in how the same kind of people who acted as they did in the reign of Elizabeth I are acting as they do in the reign of Elizabeth II. No subject can be as enlightening as history in this context, or do more to help us to disentangle the tangled problems of today. Next I would put the capacity to weigh evidence dispassionately, to keep the mind open to as many sides of any question as there may be (not restricting these to one, or

¹ I wish to acknowledge my debt to my colleague, Miss Rachel Goodrich, for many valuable suggestions.

² 'Boy' throughout also means 'girl'.

even to two), to be prepared to go wherever the argument leads and to accept (for the time being) the conclusions without dismay. And finally the future university historian must be able to organize his own work and his own time, to have a sure eye for what matters and the capacity to devote his attention to that *when* it matters and without external direction: this is necessary, of course, for all university work, and it means that adaptation to a new environment which the schoolboy finds it particularly hard to make: but it is more difficult in the study of a subject such as history, with its indefinite outlines, than in that of subjects with a more cut-and-dried content.

Most of the contributors to the earlier symposium dealt with the examination qualifications which they would look for in their students. I propose to deal with those which derive from what has been taught and how it has been taught in the sixth form. First it seems important that the boy should have had every opportunity and every encouragement to discuss historiography and to consider the questions, Why history? What is written history? Why do people write books about history? Why does anyone study history? It is possible that those in the second and third of my groups may have more original and more convincing answers to these questions than those in the first group. This would involve some study of the views of historians on history, the views of Ranke, Bury, Acton, Toynbee and others. Then there should be a wider acquaintance with history than is afforded by studying British history in outline, with a narrow period for special study, for examination purposes. There should be at least some knowledge of the main issues in the development of European civilization, with special attention perhaps to the Middle Ages: it was interesting to note that one of the writers in the earlier symposium stressed the importance of an outline of medieval history, and disturbing to note that in another case the one paper on history in the examination was *either* on English history *or* on European history. The future student of history should have had his eyes opened to wider perspectives than those implied in so limited a course of study, particularly in view of the fact that he will have to study history in a world changing more rapidly than ever before in the story of mankind. Thirdly, would it not be well to emphasize more than is commonly done in the sixth form the study of historical sources, either directly or through such subjects as archaeology or local history? At least one County Authority is endeavouring to introduce into the schools documents from the local record office, and to make family and parish records available; this seems a move in the right direction.

These suggestions may or may not be acceptable. If they are acceptable, or if some of them are acceptable, it should not be difficult to devise tests for the qualities and qualifications which are considered desirable. For the process of testing and selection, one point may be made which was not made in the symposium: several writers there referred to reports from the Headmaster or Headmistress: if these are taken to embody the reports of teachers in the sixth form and indeed lower down the school, well and good: for it is these reports which will be of the greatest value—we want to know from those who have taught him *what kind of a learner* our future history pupil is.

Oxford University, Department of Education

M. L. JACKS

HISTORY BOOKS FOR SCHOOLS: III

ARNOLD FELLOWS

Chigwell School

THERE IS A LARGE mixed bag, so let us without ado plunge *in medias res*. Three university lecturers, under the editorship of Dr. M. W. Thomas, have written an excellent book on English Economic History.¹ It is intended for sixth formers and first- and second-year undergraduates, and is a model of sound historical thinking and clear exposition. Its objectivity and moderation of statement are all the more attractive because they seem to be the result less of deliberate policy than of the natural mode of thought of the writers, yet the book has a unity rare in works of collaboration. The importance of economic theories is made clear, and the parallel influence of circumstances and of pressure groups. The slowness of change is emphasized, and the exceptions which underlie an appearance of uniformity. Perhaps more could have been made of the influence of economics on politics: of redistribution of population, for instance, on the Reform Bill of 1832; but it is refreshing not to have an economic interpretation of the Civil War. A few statements invite comment. It is hardly correct to equate the thegn of *Rectitudines Singularum Personarum* with knight. Many strips were smaller than an acre. A sentence—‘At the same time as capital was accumulated interest rates were falling, and this encouraged capital investment’—seems to need clarification. To the remark that ‘Railways widened markets and lowered costs to farmers’, it might be added that by a reverse process they killed some country industries with cheap goods from the towns. Orwin, *The Open Fields*, and Salzman, *Building in England*, are worth including in the suggestions for further reading on p. 101, where are some misprints, and where it would be useful to specify the more important articles in the *Economic History Review*. The abiding impression left by this balanced and mellow book is of facts and controversies recollected in tranquillity.

Another first-class textbook of economic history is that written by C. P. Hill for boys and girls of fifteen to seventeen.² Two-thirds of it are devoted to the broad narrative of economic development, while the last seven chapters discuss topics such as Public Health, Education, Law and Order, and the Emancipation of Women. The author does not allow the trees to obscure the wood; and yet finds room to mention the use of canals to carry fragile as well

¹ *A Survey of English Economic History*. Ed. by M. W. Thomas; written by K. G. T. McDonnell, D. C. Coleman and S. Pollard. Blackie, 1957. viii + 536 pp. 25s.

² *British Economic and Social History, 1700–1914*. By C. P. Hill. Arnold, 1957. 383 pp. Illus. and maps. 10s. 6d.

as bulky goods, the first removal of an appendix in London in 1848, and the survival as late as 1911 of nearly a million and a half domestic servants. Similarly, his brief sketches of Brunel, Wedgwood and others depict human beings, not mere items in an agenda. The narrative would not have been overloaded by pointing out that the decree declaring the Scheldt open was one reason for war between England and France in 1793; that it was a stroke of good fortune when only half of the middle class secured a vote in 1832, since society was less rigidly stratified and the voteless were not left without leaders; and that the reform act of 1884 enfranchised not only agricultural labourers but the many miners in country districts. The illustrations are apposite and the maps clear. What is more, the cool and businesslike presentment does not conceal the author's enthusiasm for his subject.

A. D. Ellis has extended to 1951 R. M. Rayner's *Concise History of Britain*,³ recasting three chapters and writing three more. His changes and additions are entirely in keeping with the rest of this well-known book.

More suitable, perhaps, for sixth than fifth forms is the concluding volume of Dr. C. F. Strong's series.⁴ He has told the complicated story of the last fifty years with great skill, achieving clarity without undue sacrifice of detail. He is scrupulously fair; and his narrative, never breathless, yet reveals the urgent march of events from crisis to crisis. Three points, which he has not ignored, might have been more strongly stressed: the existence of a vacuum in central Europe after the old Austro-Hungarian Empire was dismembered in 1918; the pathetic inexperience of the new governments which took its place without replacing it; and the growing desire all over the world to move, in constitutional experiment, too far too fast. At the end of each of the three sections into which the book is divided are appendices, but not all will think these of equal value. The summary, chapter by chapter, seems likely to discourage extraction of essentials from the chapters themselves. The second appendix includes lists of important words, technical terms, persons, and developments; notes on special points and suggestions for reading and reference. The notes and suggestions are admirable as are the lists of important developments; but could not the significant words, terms and persons be better emphasized *as they occur in the text* by contrasting type? The last appendix, of topics to discuss, is good in every way. The maps are abundant and clear, the illustrations stimulating, and the whole book is well produced, at a reasonable price.

For younger folk studying modern times is the most recent of the *Rockliff New Project Series*.⁵ Here under one cover are nine pamphlets, each of 24 to 32 pages, which can also be bought separately. The aim of the author is thus expressed: 'You must be your own seeker. The thrill of discovery must be yours and yours alone. To achieve this you must seek among books, reference books, encyclopædias, reports, maps, illustrations, ancient records, but it is you who must do the seeking otherwise the whole purpose of your project work is destroyed.' Unfortunately the bulk of the text consists of potted biographies and lists of dated events or names. The lists are indigestible;

³ *A Concise History of Britain, 1714-1951*. By R. M. Rayner. New ed., with additional chapters by A. D. Ellis. Longmans. 1956. xvi + 338 pp. Maps. 11s.

⁴ *The Twentieth Century and the Contemporary World: Book V of A History of Britain and the World*. By C. F. Strong. University of London Press. 1957. 352 pp. Illus., diagrams and maps. 10s. 6d.

⁵ *Victorian England, 1850-1900*. By A. B. Allen. Rockliff Publishing Corporation. 1956. viii + 254 pp., of which nearly 120 pp. are illustrations. 18s.

and most of the biographies are little more than catalogues. Some are not so much: 'Herbert Spencer (1820-1903), a serious writer, presented new thoughts on thought to the people of his time. He had a decided influence upon methods of teaching in school, and on the understanding of the minds of young people.' The best part of the book is the abundance of illustrations, some of which are very good, though the standard of reproduction varies. A companion to *Victorian England* is *Nineteenth Century Buildings*.⁶ This opens with a brief sketch emphasizing the rise of democracy, the British Empire, and Ireland as the three main lines of development. There follow three pages of unexplained dated facts, half of them concerning European history. The drawings and cut-outs which form the substance of the pamphlet have no apparent relation to the three main lines of development. Their construction is well thought out and explained, and children will enjoy making them; but whether they will lead to any real understanding of the nineteenth century, or indeed of nineteenth-century architecture, is another matter.

The Curator of the Geffrye Museum and Miss A. A. M. Wells approach this period differently. The text of their book⁷ consists of 61 extracts of the most varied kind, linked by a minimum of always pertinent comment. The book is meant to be dipped into, but each dip invites another, bringing the reader into the company of all sorts of people doing all sorts of things. The 87 illustrations, which are related to the extracts, are well chosen and well reproduced. Some of the pleasing drawings by Sir George Scharf are rather faint, but these repay study with a magnifying glass. The titles of No. 3 and No. 4 appear to have been transposed. Comment is added where necessary, but a cricketer will notice that in the 'grand jubilee match' played at Lords in 1837 there is no fielder between deep square leg and the bowler, while five stalwarts populate the covers. In its text and its pictures this is what a source book should be.

The Clarendon Press send another group of biographies by Norman Wymer.⁸ Some of this series were noticed in the February number of *History*. In this bound volume, also, the pamphlets are separately paginated and there is no index, but the paper is now uniform. The maps of the world in the lives of Columbus and Magellan have the coastlines of Australia, New Zealand, and certain northern lands in dotted outline, doubtless to suggest that they were not yet discovered. Why then is the whole coast from inside Hudson's Bay via Cape Horn to California in continuous outline? Some of the illustrations are foggy. None the less, the subjects of these biographies really do come to life in them, and they are recommended for boys of 11 to 14, perhaps in a form library.

An introductory history of Scotland to the death of Mary Stuart has been written for pupils in the first year of the three-year secondary courses in Scottish schools.⁹ The aim of the authors is 'to tell the story of Scotland

⁶ *Nineteenth Century Buildings*. By A. B. Allen. Rockliff Publishing Corporation. 1956. 32 pp., with many diagrams. Oblong 4to., bound in cardboard. 7s. 6d.

⁷ *Picture Source Book of Social History: early nineteenth century*. By M. Harrison and A. A. M. Wells. Allen and Unwin. 1957. 151 pp., of which 52 pp. are plates. 12s. 6d.

⁸ *Lives of Great Men and Women*. (Sir Alexander Mackenzie, Sir John Franklin, David Livingstone, Captain Scott.) By N. Wymer. Clarendon Press: Oxford University Press. 1957. 32 pp. each. Illus. and maps. 1s. 9d. each. Also these 4, bound up with those on Columbus, Magellan, Cook and Sir John Hunt, as *Great Explorers*. 1957. 8s. 6d.

⁹ *A Scottish History for today, Book I*. By I. Gould and J. Thompson. John Murray. 1957. xii + 200 pp., with 8 pp. plates, and line drawings and maps. 7s. 6d.

against its world background', and their inclusions and omissions are discriminating. The book is interestingly written, but contains a number of errors. The surface of Roman roads was not always of big smooth stones. The Pont du Gard (plate 10) is an aqueduct, not a bridge. Roman baths did not usually have 'very luxurious swimming pools'. There is no reason to perpetuate incorrect spellings of Boudicca and Caratacus. The abandonment of the Antonine wall was the result of a deliberate change of policy, and was not forced on the Romans (see the Historical Association's pamphlet, *Common errors in Scottish history*). The Bayeux Tapestry was probably the work of English needlewomen. Why will so many textbooks insist that a keep stood on a mound? Many of the most famous, and heaviest, did not. The mark was worth 13s. 4d. not 6s. 8d. St. Bernard of Clairvaux (not Cîteaux) did not draw up the Cistercian rule, and the Augustinians were canons regular, not monks. Is it really true that a medieval Scottish peasant was 'quite happy and content'? It was the court of 104 members rather than Edward I in person who 'decided that John Balliol had the best right to the throne'. The English operations in northern France were quite separate from the battle of Poitiers. Rubens was Flemish, not Dutch. These errors should be corrected if the book is reprinted, as in other ways it deserves to be. Moreover, at the end of each chapter is a list of things to do. Some are accompanied by useful extracts, but far too many are of this type: 'Try to collect a few pictures of Ancient Egypt. Illustrate your notebook if you can'; or are such as would occur to any teacher. With the blank spaces following them they occupy some 30 pages. If only a selection of the best questions were lumped together, the space saved could be used for further extracts from original sources. The line drawings are good, but the smaller maps are often too crowded, and there is nothing to be said for the convention that represents the sea by giving the coast a fringe resembling a three-days' beard. The plates are splendid, and the juxtaposition of the castles of Krak and Edinburgh is striking. There is no index.

R. R. Sellman has written another volume for Methuen's Outlines.¹⁰ The drawings and excellent maps in *The Vikings* will attract most ages; the scholarly text is likely to appeal even more to seniors than juniors. Particularly welcome is the attention given to the settlements in Iceland, Greenland, Scotland and Russia, to trading vessels and place-names. Something might also have been said about the influence of the Vikings on the growth of feudalism. The conclusions are shrewd and just, and the book can be recommended widely and without reserve.

All who are interested in the physical background of history will welcome *Finding the History around us*.¹¹ It deals with prehistoric and Roman Britain, with castles and country houses, churches, the village, the town and the people. There are full lists of tools, furniture, costume and decoration to be seen in museums, and a helpful appendix discusses how to make the most of them. The author has made good use of extracts from diaries, inventories and parish documents, and skilfully bridges the gap between the shell of a building and its former inhabitants. A number of mistakes have crept in. Prehistoric dwellings on Dartmoor are not of the New Stone but the drier

¹⁰ *The Vikings*. By R. R. Sellman. Methuen, 1957. iv + 68 pp. Maps, diagrams and drawings. 10s. 6d.

¹¹ *Finding the History around us*. By Islay Doncaster. Blackwell, 1956. xvi + 216 pp., with 8 pp. plates, and drawings in the text. 17s. 6d.

Bronze Age, as also are most stone rows and circles. Offa's Dyke and Wansdyke should not appear under the Iron Age. Grime's Graves are at Weeting in Norfolk. A Roman normally ended his bath with a swill, not a plunge. At Fountains nave and transepts are twelfth and tower fifteenth century. There is no word of monastic sanitation on p. 100 or p. 118. The nave of Winchester cathedral was entirely transformed in the perpendicular period, and the choir at Norwich has a fourteenth-century clerestory but is mainly Norman. Certain misprints may mislead: a nought is omitted on p. 28; Gairdner, not Gardiner, on p. 93; seventeenth not seventh century on p. 183; Emmison on pp. 151 and 194. More broadly, it is a pity that Saxon England has no section to itself; that building materials and place-names are not discussed; that castles before 1277 are omitted. Plates and drawings are alike excellent, and the last word about this rewarding book, full of good things, must be to commend its practical and enlightened enthusiasm.

The same spirit informs *Teaching History in the Junior School*,¹² designed for non-specialists and students, but of value to all who teach the young. A four-year syllabus, discussed in detail, is followed by a careful study of every aspect of work in the classroom. The section and appendix on models are specially useful, and there are lists of questions and books, and a time chart. In this the placing of long barrows, Stonehenge, and hill-fort warfare is rather misleading, as is 'trial by jury', when unexplained, in the reign of Henry II; while some architectural details on p. 103 are inaccurate, and *Boadicea* and *Caractacus* recur. Many will be grateful for this sincere and helpful book, written without fads, salted with humour, and rich with the wisdom of experience.

Several pictorial charts, not all strictly historical, have been sent for notice. Those who like this method of illustration are recommended to write to the publishers for a list, and a sheet on approval.¹³ There is one good filmstrip, competently produced and annotated.¹⁴

Here are a few jottings in conclusion. The standard of illustration is often high; but engravings reproduce better than water-colours, and photographs as small as $3 \times 2\frac{1}{2}$ inches should not include many figures or much foliage. Maps would often be improved by leaving out detail. Not enough care is given to accuracy of fact and inference in books for juniors. To omit is better than to mislead. There can hardly be too many good books, but there can be too many books.

¹² *Teaching History in the Junior School*. By R. J. Unstead. Black. 1956. vii + 112 pp., with 6 pp. plates, and drawings in the text. 9s. 6d.

¹³ *The Pictorial Charts Unit*, 153 Uxbridge Road, London, W.7.

¹⁴ *Life in Ancient Mesopotamia*. 29 frames (colour). Notes by Marie Neurath. Common Ground. IB 714. 1957. 27s. 6d.

EDITORIAL NOTES

WHEN A NEW editorial policy for *History* was announced in February it was with the recognition that the cost of the new format would involve a reduction in the quantity of material that could be printed. However, signs of growth both in circulation and advertising revenue are sufficiently encouraging to permit an increase in the size of the present number. This is very welcome: not from any belief that the bigger the journal the better, but because it will assist in the solution of one of our most difficult problems—that of finding sufficient space for reviews.

A journal such as *History* should in principle review all historical works, and reviewers should have as much room as they need to do justice to the books under review. This is an ideal which we are never likely to be able to achieve: to attempt it would merely be to produce increasing delays in reviewing and a rapidly growing accumulation of unprinted reviews. A selective policy is forced upon us, and it may be of use to indicate briefly some of the tentative conclusions that have been reached about it. Works of fiction and other books which are only indirectly—if at all—historical, reissues, pamphlets and lectures, collections of miscellaneous papers, will generally have to be put into the list of Other Books Received. The only way in which to secure longer reviews of some of the more important works is to abridge the notices of others. Books which add little or nothing to historical knowledge and which are directed mainly at the general reading public may have to be dealt with in a sentence or two.

In a few fields the concentration of historical research, or the multiplication of books, necessitates special treatment. For school books a solution which seems to have met with approval has been found in the form of a review article. Far more books on the history of the United States are received than can be adequately reviewed. Many of these will have to remain unreviewed, or else be dealt with in more general surveys. Contemporary history produces a large crop of volumes of documents, memoirs, general and specialized historical studies, and severe economy will be forced on us in this field also.

* * *

For many years the Association has discussed a proposal to transfer the annual general meeting from January to Easter. It has now been agreed to try the experiment of an Easter meeting, which in 1958 will be held on 9–12 April at Newcastle upon Tyne, at the invitation of the North-Eastern Counties branch.

* * *

The former editor and publishers of *History* hope to issue the three numbers for 1956, and the title-page and index for 1955, in the near future.

REVIEWS AND SHORT NOTICES

MEDIEVAL

INVENTORY OF BRITISH COIN HOARDS, A.D. 600-1500. By J. D. A. Thompson. London: Royal Numismatic Society. 1956. xlix + 165 pp. 35s.

This first volume of a new series undertaken by the Royal Numismatic Society sets a high standard of distinction in typography, layout and illustration. Nor could any title have been chosen more in tune with the requirements of historians, increasingly alive as they are to the importance of numismatic evidence. It comes close on the heels of several publications, notably from Thuringia, Czechoslovakia and Hungary, dealing with hoards and shows the small group of working numismatists in Britain to be both conscious of present-day needs and capable of meeting them; for the systematic listing of coin finds in this country was an urgent duty which lay upon numismatists and could not be shirked without loss of face. Mr. Thompson thus deserves the thanks not only of the many researchers who will use his book, but of the numismatic world in particular for taking on so great a task.

A glance at the 'abbreviations and bibliography' will show the character and the magnitude of the work involved. No systematic lists were available and search through a host of County History Society Transactions, Archaeological Journals, Numismatic publications and, perhaps most important of all, the massive series of the *Gentleman's Magazine* had to be made. The references, scattered in the first place, must have been often frustratingly incomplete and difficult to match. But once this initial clearance has been done it becomes a matter of comparative ease to record new finds and to amplify and correct old ones. It is to be hoped that the Royal Numismatic Society will see that this work is in fact done, and that it is from time to time published in a form suitable for insertion in the volume. If this could be done the full value of Mr. Thompson's work would be both emphasized and consolidated.

Inevitably a number of small errors have crept into a compilation which must have been several years in the making. There is an obvious slip in the dating of No. 244, in No. 255 E. J. Willett appears spelt differently on a single page and an interesting miliaresion of John Zimisces is not mentioned: text and introduction are slightly at variance over the dating of the Sutton Hoo and Sevington deposits, nor for any hoard is there a reference to the admirable plates: for Fermoy (No. 160) the Numismatic Chronicle reference should be to 1942, and for the Eccles hoard a later reference might have been included. It is more surprising to note a certain lack of co-ordination with the British Museum where Mrs. Strudwick has identified at least a dozen hoards

unearthed in the early nineteenth century that are not listed here. Flaws such as these are however of no account in the scale against so invaluable a 'register in which the majority of hoards may be looked up' as the author with characteristic modesty describes his book.

The hoards have been listed in alphabetical order of their site names, with indices of rulers, of mints and of hoards grouped in the centuries in which they were deposited. Two maps show the sites of Anglo-Saxon and Edwardian hoards, the latter providing a most interesting commentary on the Anglo-Scottish wars. It would be easy and instructive to make up other similar maps and in an admirable introduction Mr. Thompson points out some of the wide range of economic tendencies, social habits, political and military events upon which hoarded coins reflect so curious a light. Does the surprisingly small number of finds dating from the second half of the fifteenth century, for instance, reflect the stability of Edward IV's reign or the small proportion of the population involved in the Wars of the Roses? Material illuminating history both national and local has been collected in the 394 hoards listed in this Inventory, which must become a treasured reference book for the researcher and an invaluable basis for a more systematic treatment of the subject in the future.

St. Paul's School

P. D. WHITTING

LEXICON MEDIÆ ET INFIMÆ LATINITATIS POLONORUM; Słownik łaciny średniowiecznej w Polsce; Polska Akademia Nauk, Warsaw, Vol. I. Fasc. 1—4 (A—Appelatio). 1953—6.

More than thirty years ago a special committee was set up by the Polish Academy of Arts and Science with the object of preparing the material for a dictionary of medieval Latin in Poland. After the break caused by the war years the committee took up its work again, but with a largely changed membership, for many of the original members of the committee lost their lives during the war. It has been possible to continue the work satisfactorily as most of the material gathered before 1939 had fortunately been preserved. The material used in the lexicon is based on latin texts written by Poles, or by others living in and having close connections with Poland. Thus, for example, Callimachus Phillippus Buonacorsi, who wrote his works in Poland (1469—96) is included. The time limits accepted by the editors are 1000 to 1506 A.D. although very often texts of the sixteenth century are also explored. Only published works, not manuscripts, have been examined; a list of them, embracing a great variety of subjects and exceeding 350 volumes, is included in the first fascicule. The emphasis is laid on anything which is peculiar to Polish medieval Latin; all the meanings of the words are considered and explained, as well as grammatical and structural characteristics, and examples are given as illustrations. Meanings and grammatical structure known to classical Latin are only briefly touched on. The lexicon is a result of long and scholarly work and will undoubtedly be welcomed by everyone who is interested in medieval culture.

School of Slavonic Studies, London

PAUL SKWARCZYNSKI

Richard Winston's CHARLEMAGNE: FROM THE HAMMER TO THE CROSS (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode. 1956. 346 pp. 25s.) is avowedly written for a 'popular' and not a scholarly audience, but those unfamiliar with the period

will find it a graphic and substantially reliable introduction to one of the great figures of European history. There are some pointless and rather improbable suppositions but none of the 'imaginary conversations' that so often mar a work of this kind. It is, in fact, in spite of a hopeful reference in the publishers' 'blurb' to 'documents and original sources, some of which have not been previously used', solidly based on the familiar sources and one or two not-so-familiar ones (such as the *Heliand*, used to illustrate Saxon society) often quoted at length in translation; and the treatment of controversial topics shows an intelligent use of the most important modern literature. Charles emerges as a figure slightly larger than life-size, a sovereign in the grand manner with amazing energies and an unusual range of interests: and this is perhaps as satisfactory a portrait as we can hope to achieve.

University of Edinburgh

D. A. BULLOUGH

FELIX'S LIFE OF ST. GUTHLAC. Introduction, text, translation and notes by

Bertram Colgrave. Cambridge University Press. 1956. xvi + 205 pp. 30s. The biography of an obscure Mercian saint by a still more obscure East Anglian monk might not seem at first sight to justify the pains which Mr. Colgrave has taken over this edition of the *Vita Sancti Guthlaci*. But Guthlac of Crowland, if obscure, was once widely renowned, and every student of Anglo-Saxon England will be grateful for an authoritative text of a work composed in the eighth century which preserves traditions of the seventh. The author, Felix, had a penchant for visions of hell and the coining of strange specimens of latinity; but Mr. Colgrave allows him to have been 'a good scholar', familiar with Bede and St. Aldhelm. His picture of the Fens in the seventh century is gloomy and interesting; the editor is surely right not to accept his words as good evidence for a survival in this region of native Britons. Mr. Colgrave's introduction discusses the Guthlac cult, the authorship of the *Vita*, and (very thoroughly) the manuscript tradition. The text, critically edited, is printed with the translation facing, after which follow copious notes and an index. The accuracy and scholarship are only to be expected of the editor of the *Two Lives of St. Cuthbert*, but it would not perhaps be impertinent to add that Mr. Colgrave achieves a remarkable feat in rendering Felix's turgid and tortuous Latin into readable modern English.

University College, London

G. W. S. BARROW

BRUT Y TYWYSOGION OF THE CHRONICLE OF THE PRINCES, RED BOOK OF

HERGEST VERSION. Edited with translation by Thomas Jones. Cardiff:

University of Wales Press. 1955. lxiv + 389 pp. 35s.

Brut y Tywysogion, 'the Chronicle of the Princes', is the basic narrative source of Welsh history in the six centuries 682-1282. It exists in three versions, two of them complete down to 1282, and the third incomplete, breaking off at the year 1197. All three are medieval translations into Welsh of a Latin original. As that Latin original no longer survives except in extracts and in abbreviated forms, its substance is now preserved mainly in the three translations. All three are marred by errors and confusions, especially in the very important matter of personal names, but as each translation was made independently we are able, by comparing each with the others, and with the surviving Latin fragments, to correct most of the errors, and recover most of the substance of what was contained in the lost Latin original.

The three translations are known respectively as the 'Peniarth MS. 20 version', 'the Red Book of Hergest version', and the '*Brenhinedd y Saeson* [Kings of the Saxons] version'. The Peniarth version has already been edited, with an English translation of the Welsh text, by Professor Thomas Jones, and published in two volumes in the 'History and Law Series' of the Board of Celtic Studies (nos. 6 and 11). The volume now before us, by the same editor and in the same Series (no. 16), makes available the Red Book version, with the added convenience that the English translation is here printed parallel with the Welsh text. At last, therefore, the two complete versions of the Welsh *Brut* have been scientifically edited, with English translations which accurately convey the meaning as well as something of the flavour of the Welsh text. Moreover, as the three versions must, in any serious study, be read concurrently, the editor has systematically added notes which provide the indispensable cross-references for purposes of comparison. Altogether it is not too much to say that Dr. Jones's editions of the two complete versions of the Welsh *Brut*—which are to be followed shortly by his edition of the incomplete version embedded in *Brenhinedd y Saeson*—are an outstanding achievement in the editing of medieval historical texts. They supersede, one need hardly say, the very unscientific edition of *Brut y Tywysogion* published in the Rolls Series in 1860.

Chronologically the Red Book version—like that of Peniarth MS. 20—is distributed thus: about one-sixth of the text is devoted to the four centuries from A.D. 682 to the end of the eleventh century; about one-half to the twelfth century; and about one-third to the thirteenth century (i.e. down to the outbreak of the Welsh rising of 1282). So it is for the twelfth century that the Welsh *Brut* is particularly informative. Internal evidence shows pretty clearly that the lost Latin original which it represents was in the main a monastic compilation begun in St. David's, continued in Llanbadarn Fawr near Aberystwyth, and carried to conclusion in the Cistercian abbey of Strata Florida, situated some fifteen miles from Llanbadarn. The transition from St. David's to Llanbadarn seems to have occurred towards the end of the eleventh century, and from Llanbadarn to Strata Florida (founded in 1165) during the last quarter of the twelfth. Until the close of the eleventh century the entries are mostly in the form of laconic annals, but thereafter—and especially in the twelfth century—they frequently run to quite considerable stretches of sustained prose, containing a great deal of minute and sometimes vivid detail.

It is this mass of detail, both personal and local, that may well appear confusing to anybody who comes to the Wales portrayed in the Welsh *Brut* with thoughts only of the England reflected in contemporaneous English chronicles. Yet what seems confused is in reality perfectly intelligible. The Welsh *Brut* is—and indeed actually calls itself—a 'chronicle of the princes'. What were these 'princes' whose deeds it records? The key facts about them are two. Firstly: their number was considerable. Secondly: their status was royal. Medieval Wales was subdivided for government into units called commotes, of which there were altogether well over a hundred: the 'princes' of the Welsh *Brut* were the lords of one or of a few or of many of those commotes. But although their actual power might thus vary enormously, yet within the commote or group of commotes which each of them ruled, all these 'princes' were by Welsh law accounted *kings*. As kings, each of them

commanded the services of a war-band—repeatedly mentioned in the *Brut* under its Welsh name *teulu*—and one of the most characteristic of their royal rights was their right of making war upon one another by means of these war-bands. The Welsh *Brut* is very largely a record of that right in actual operation. The inducement to exercise it, though sometimes in part adventurous, was evidently much strengthened by the fact that the rule of succession to the lordship of commotes was not by primogeniture but (on the same principle as the rule of succession to land in Wales) by division among the heirs. The fewer the heirs, the greater the individual share of the participants. So there was a motive for eliminating co-heirs—a motive that would have been absent under primogeniture—and the more ambitious princes practised elimination quite ruthlessly, by war, by exile, by imprisoning, by blinding, by mutilation, by death. The Welsh *Brut* supplies examples of all these procedures, especially in the twelfth century, and it is no accident that the victims were most commonly the brothers or uncles or first-cousins of the perpetrators. Such ruthlessness was in part, no doubt, only a local manifestation of the endemic ruthlessness of a violent age, but in the main it was the product of social and political conditions, conditions which stood in absolute contrast with those of England: English society moulded by primogeniture, Welsh society by the divisible inheritance; England ruled by one king, Wales by many. *Brut y Tywysogion* is the Welsh half of that contrasting diptych.

Institute of Historical Research, London

J. G. EDWARDS

FEUDAL BRITAIN. By G. W. Barrow. London: Edward Arnold. 1956. 452 pp. 25s.

Mr. Barrow's point of departure, in this useful and pleasantly written textbook, is the battle of Hastings which gave to England a formidable line of 'state-building' rulers and attached the country more firmly than in the recent past to the main centres of western European culture. He ends with the battle of Bannockburn, which confirmed the separate political identity of Scotland. In the intervening period the kings of England had built up and lost a Channel empire all save Gascony and the Channel Isles; and had finally in 1284 conquered and absorbed Wales into their dominion. During the same centuries Scotland had emerged from the isolation which the Viking era had brought upon it, and political unity had been imposed upon original disunity by the combined efforts of the monarchy, the Church and a military landed class of whom not a few had Anglo-Norman origins. Thus a major theme of Mr. Barrow's book is summed up in the sub-title he gives it: 'the completion of the medieval kingdoms'.

This, then, is the difference between Mr. Barrow and the majority of those who have attempted a general survey of this period of our history. His is in the proper sense a history of Britain, with the history of Wales and Scotland treated 'in as full a manner as possible and in relative proportion'. If only for that reason, it fills a genuine void in the literature available to the general reader, the sixth-form specialist and the undergraduate. Even when he is dealing with the more familiar fields of English history, however, Mr. Barrow's treatment is still of genuine value to such an audience. He introduces his reader to a surprisingly wide range of original sources; provides a convincing synthesis of most of the modern specialist literature in all the many fields with which he is concerned; and gives useful indications for further

reading in his footnotes and a select bibliography. The bulk of the book, of course, as one would expect from its dominant theme, is devoted to political and constitutional history. On this ground even specialists will be hard put to it to find genuine grounds to quarrel with Mr. Barrow, though one may doubt whether Chester was given to Hugh of Avranches with 'palatine powers', whether the Anglo-Saxon kings ever possessed a monopoly of 'dealing' with certain serious crimes, or whether Stephen was in England when Henry I died. By comparison, too, with the political and constitutional aspects of the history of feudal Britain economic trends and the intellectual climate are treated somewhat more slightly and less surely. At the same time, to have dealt with everything would have endangered proportion, and it is the ruling conceptions of the political development of Britain during this period which give to this book precisely that. One leaves it with the impression of a story well told and of conclusions well and surely drawn.

St. John's College, Cambridge

EDWARD MILLER

CRUSADER WARFARE. 1097-1193. By R. C. Smail. Cambridge University Press. 1956. 272 pp. 30s.

The Crusades continue to attract the attention of historical scholars, and now after Grousset, Runciman and the first volume of a co-operative history directed by Kenneth M. Setton, it might have been thought that there was little scope for new work on the subject. But Dr. Smail has written a work which is both fresh and interesting. His subject is wider than the title might at first suggest, for he insists that war must be studied not in isolation but in relation to society as a whole. 'Military history', he writes, 'was made on countless occasions before the battle was joined, and even when it was refused or avoided', and consequently the whole history of the Crusading States comes within his purview. He rejects the rosy view of a 'Franco-Syrian state', and demonstrates that the Crusaders remained to the end but a foreign aristocracy in the Holy Land, basing their power not on co-operation with the natives but on military strength. The castles which they built were not only for the purpose of frontier-defence; they had 'only occasionally to withstand a siege, but they continuously fulfilled their function as to overlordship'. Similarly the armies had to be kept in being when they were not actually fighting, and it is as important to know how they were raised and organized as it is to understand their tactics. Dr. Smail describes the three main types of action—campaigns in which the Franks although refusing battle successfully repelled invasion, battles fought on the march, and pitched battles—and discusses the general war-aim of the Crusaders, insisting that it was not the destruction of the enemy but the defence or capture of a particular territory. In the last chapter he discusses the function and lay-out of the Crusaders' castles, but it must be admitted that his failure to add the necessary explanations to some of the plans (e.g. nos. 2 and 3) will occasionally try the reader's patience.

The main criticism that must be made of the book as a whole is that it is too narrowly Frankish. The Arabic and Greek sources are used rather tentatively, and on the subject of military architecture there is no mention of Professor Creswell's work on Moslem fortifications. This defect, however, is probably inevitable, the division between Latinists and Orientalists being what it is, and it need not prevent us from being grateful to Dr. Smail. He

has written a book which, in spite of a few repetitions, is both fresh and stimulating. His military view of society is significant not only for the history of the Crusades, but also for that of Europe in general.

Merton College, Oxford

R. H. C. DAVIS

THE LEICESTERSHIRE SURVEY, c. A.D. 1130. By C. F. Slade. University College of Leicester. 1956. 98 pp. 16s.

Our knowledge of this interesting survey has, until recently, depended on an incomplete thirteenth-century transcript. Mr. Slade is fortunately able to fill in some of the gaps from a recently noticed collection of extracts also made in the thirteenth century. As Sir Frank Stenton remarks in his preface, the unique importance of this survey is its demonstration that the wapentakes of Leicestershire were divided into hundreds. Mr. Slade discusses the composition and arrangement of these and depicts them in a useful series of maps. He also compares the survey, vill by vill, with Domesday Book and succeeds in explaining some of the differences. This section could have been shortened and comparison with Domesday Book facilitated had the space used for translations been devoted to extracts from, or at least references to Domesday. The changes revealed by this comparison are discussed by Mr. Slade, the section on landholding being particularly interesting. It is a pity that more is not said about the early twelfth-century Northamptonshire entries mentioned at the foot of p. 8, and the lack of an index will be seriously felt by those who use this book. It must be remarked that the edition of the new material has some unfortunate features; changes of hand, significant blanks and most interlineations are unnoticed, the order of entries has been changed and there are some omissions. These imperfections, however, could hardly diminish the value of this book.

University of Birmingham

P. H. SAWYER

THE HISTORIA PONTIFICALIS OF JOHN OF SALISBURY. Edited by Marjorie Chibnall (Nelson's Medieval Texts). 1956. 1 + 109 pp. 20s.

The value of the *Historia Pontificalis* to students of the twelfth century needs no emphasis, and Dr. Chibnall's edition of it in this series is most welcome. This work of John of Salisbury, little known in the Middle Ages, has survived in a single manuscript copy of the late thirteenth century, which belonged to the monastery of Fleury, and is now in the town library of Berne. It was first published by Wilhelm Arndt in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica (Scriptores)* in 1868 and subsequently in R. L. Poole's scholarly edition of 1927. Dr. Chibnall has used Poole's text as the basis of the present edition, collating it with the Berne manuscript and making a number of small improvements. The pages of Poole's edition are, very usefully, noted in the margin. We are given, as a result, an excellent text of the *Historia Pontificalis* together with the first English version to be published.

It is an exceedingly difficult undertaking to translate the work of such a stylist as John of Salisbury so as to convey something of the spirit and the nuances of the original, holding a nice balance between exactitude and the freedom of rendering which is necessary if stilted English is to be avoided. Dr. Chibnall's translation is a very adequate one, though in a few small instances one feels that she may have erred. Would the pope, for example, be addressed as *domine* in the sense of 'master'?; and is it proper to speak of

'priestly rank' (*ab ordine presbiteratus*) when referring to Holy Orders? When it is said of Gilbert de la Porrée, answering his accusers, '*sic auctoritatibus et rationibus responsa muniebat, ut capi non potuerit in sermone*', does it mean no more than that 'he could not be tripped up verbally'?

The life and works of John of Salisbury have been studied in detail by many eminent medievalists, notably in England by R. L. Poole and C. C. J. Webb and, most recently, by Professor C. N. L. Brooke. Dr. Chibnall provides an excellent introduction not only to the *Historia Pontificalis*, but to the literature connected with its author, and makes some valuable contributions to it, especially in relation to the chronology of John's life. Her book will be of great value, both as a text and as an introduction to a fascinating field of medieval studies.

University of Birmingham

H. A. CRONNE

THEOBALD, ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY. By Avrom Saltman. London: Athlone Press. 1956. xvi + 594 pp. 50s.

This is a book which medievalists have been waiting for. Dr. Saltman has accomplished the arduous and difficult task of collecting and editing the charters of Archbishop Theobald with dispatch and thoroughness, but the idea of such a collection may be said for practical purposes to go back to a remarkable article by Sir Frank Stenton which appeared in 1929 and contained the substance of a lecture delivered in 1927.¹ It is therefore just on thirty years since the idea of such a collection as now lies before us was first put into the setting of the general ecclesiastical history of the period. The lecture of Sir Frank Stenton surveyed the material, indicated the difficulties and suggested the probable results of work such as this which Dr. Saltman has now completed. In order to put this work in its proper perspective, we can scarcely do better than quote some sentences from it:

If the methods of ecclesiastical administration in the twelfth century are little known, it is not because the material is scanty. It would be easy to fill a hundred octavo pages of fairly small print with the official *acta* of Robert de Chesni, bishop of Lincoln from 1148 to 1166. A very appreciable addition could be made to the writings which bear the name of Gilbert Foliot by searching the cartularies of religious houses which held land in the dioceses of Hereford and London. The difficulty lies in the conditions which have governed the preservation of these documents. Only a small proportion of these are preserved in original texts. Most of them are only known from cartulary copies, of every date from the twelfth century to the sixteenth. . . . The way towards a better understanding of the administrative history of the church in England, and towards a juster appreciation of its twelfth-century leaders, lies through the study of these records. . . . Through their study, it seems to me, lies the way towards a clearer knowledge of the organisation of the twelfth-century church in England, the beginnings of English ecclesiastical law, the development of the parochial system.

This programme of research has already borne fruit: we have, for instance, Miss Major's *Acta* of Stephen Langton, and we have Professor Cheney's important studies of bishops' chanceries and episcopal administration. But there is something about Theobald's charters which raises expectations of a quite special kind. It was in Theobald's household that Thomas Becket and many of the notable figures among his episcopal colleagues were trained; his

¹ 'Acta Episcoporum', *Cambridge Historical Journal*, iii, 1929, 1-14.

household may be looked on as a main source of the stability and continuity of later twelfth-century church government. It was in his household that the systematic canon law of the age of Gratian was first seriously studied in this country and given detailed and systematic application over a wide field of practical ecclesiastical business; here, as elsewhere, were foreshadowed the great developments of the next half century. Above all, Theobald was the first archbishop in England to produce an abundance of documents which allow his work to be studied in detail. Dr. Saltman has collected 311 charters emanating from his chancery, besides about a dozen illustrative documents of various kinds. It is certain that if all the existing charters of all his predecessors in the see of Canterbury were collected they would not approach anything like this figure, and it would be surprising if the charters of his three predecessors since the Norman Conquest would total as many as a hundred. Of course the comparison is not altogether just, because both Lanfranc and Anselm have left extensive collections of their episcopal correspondence which are invaluable for the study of their policies. But here again Theobald surpasses Lanfranc and is not far behind Anselm: in the volume of John of Salisbury's early letters which has recently been published there are nearly a hundred letters written on behalf of the archbishop in the course of official business. Taking the letters and charters together, there is, therefore, an impressive bulk of material for an episcopate of twenty-two years. But it is the time rather than the mere bulk which makes the material so valuable. In bulk it compares unfavourably with the amount of record material for the study of the successors of Thomas Becket; but Theobald's charters cover a period for which records are relatively scanty, and in which the relations of ecclesiastical and secular institutions were undergoing a profound and lasting change. It is therefore with a sense of expectancy that one turns to these charters. What impression do they make?

It must be confessed that the initial impression is one of disillusionment. These are not documents which easily give up their secrets. A great many of them are confirmations and routine documents which are chiefly interesting either to the local historian or for the light which, in bulk, they throw on the organization of the archbishop's chancery. Documents of which the contents are immediately and obviously valuable are fairly rare: they require to be studied as a whole rather than in isolation. To take a single example: one of the sides of church government on which these documents throw a great deal of light is the practical development of the system of indulgences, by which pilgrims and benefactors to churches—and particularly those who made gifts towards new buildings—were granted a remission of a proportion of any penance which had been imposed upon them. Here, as in so many other respects, we stand at the beginning of a development which was to have important consequences. The outline of the subject is well-known: the documentary record of such indulgences in England goes back to 1070, when one of the legates who visited England in this year granted ten days' remission to those who visited and contributed towards the needs of the monastery of Bury St. Edmund's. At intervals during the next sixty or seventy years a few similar grants can be quoted; but among Theobald's charters there were no less than 25 grants of indulgence in favour of 20 churches in all parts of the country. This is a formidable extension of the system, especially when seen in conjunction with the indulgences granted by diocesan bishops within the

limits of their own dioceses. These grants must be reckoned a serious factor in the promotion of church building which went on apace in Stephen's reign; and they are on such a scale as to introduce a new element into the government of the Church. They illustrate the background of the criticisms of the system made by Abelard (in his *Ethics*, chapter 25) for which contemporary examples in print have so far been very scanty.

Everyone who is interested in Church history will find something in these documents which is worth following up. In his long introduction, with its careful account of Theobald's life and examination of his many-sided activities, Dr. Saltman has pointed out and illustrated without exhausting a large number of the subjects dealt with in the documents which he prints. On the biographical side, the new material relating to the life of John of Salisbury and other less well-known members of Theobald's household is especially welcome. The work of editing is well done, though sometimes students of diplomatic might have been glad of more precise details, especially about seals and methods of sealing. Occasionally indeed the editor has been satisfied with transcripts when the originals themselves could have been seen without undue effort. For instance, he prints several documents now in Norman archives from copies which were made more than a century ago for the Record Commission. I have noticed one case where this copy, reproduced here (No. 109: now Rouen, Dept. Archives 7 - 13), has many inaccuracies; but these are relatively small blemishes in a work of great labour faithfully carried out.

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R. W. SOUTHERN

HUGH DE PUISET. A BIOGRAPHY OF THE TWELFTH-CENTURY BISHOP OF DURHAM. By G. V. Scammell. Cambridge University Press. 1956. x + 355 pp. 40s.

Good wine needs no bush, and a biography of Bishop Hugh de Puiset, written by a scholar whose learning and care are impressive even by modern historical standards, needs no recommendation from me. Yet good wine is improved by maturing, and it is possible that Mr. Scammell's book would have been even better if it had not been written for another few years. He knows so much about his subject that his book is inclined to leave an impression of immense learning but sometimes of insufficient lucidity.

The fault, if fault there be, lies at least as much with the bishop as with his biographer. Hugh de Puiset was a powerful but curiously unimpressive man. He ruled the bishopric of Durham for thirty-two years, and in the twelfth century this see constituted the nearest approach, in England, to the great prince-bishoprics of the Empire. Durham cathedral, which to this day has something of the appearance of a strong fortress barring the road from Scotland, has always been one of the focal points of northern government as well as of northern Christendom. Its bishops lived in a lonely world, cold, fierce and constantly exposed to the threat of Scottish invasion. It is not surprising that many of them had the reputation of being hard men—Hugh himself was sprung from a house of fighting barons in northern France and showed much of the tough and unscrupulous character of his ancestors. As Bishop of Durham he had little chance to make his mark in the court of Henry II or in the controversy which raged over the Constitutions of Clarendon, so that his power in the royal curia was hardly effective until the last few years of his

life. It is strange, however, that he left so little permanent mark, beyond the building of the castle and the beautiful Galilee chapel at Durham, upon the history of the north. He was, as Mr. Scammell shows, a vigorous and apparently an able man, a bishop of the old school with little regard for High Gregorian ideas, a collector of treasures and of books (although his library was hardly an outstanding one for the age in which he lived), a firm administrator of his diocese and a man who did not hesitate to quarrel with his archbishop, his chapter or his neighbours. Yet there appears to be no guiding principle in his life; he was active both as a prince of the world and as a prince of the church, but in neither field was he distinguished. Although at one stage it appeared that he and the great barons of his lands might create a new Northumbria, he never succeeded in barring out royal officials or in asserting his power successfully against the Archbishop of York, and in an age when the church was going through a period of swift development his authority seems to have been drawn from a cruder and more archaic society.

The most interesting sections of this book deal with the bishop's work as diocesan, and here it is illuminating to see how much a good scholar, unaided by any systematic episcopal register, can recover from the scattered chronicles and documents in which de Puiset's activities are recorded. The bishop tolerated and perhaps approved many things, such as hereditary benefices, which a man of the reforming school must have condemned, but there is no doubt of his vigour and determination as a diocesan. As a landowner he stood in the ordinary tradition of his time, drawing extensive revenues from a see which, despite the Scottish invasions of the middle of the twelfth century, had still abundant wealth, and using the money, with a passion which excuses much of his rapacity, for the greater glory of his church of Durham.

Mr. Scammell's book is thoroughly illustrated by reference to the original documents, some of which he has printed in full in his appendices. It is a work so carefully written and revised that I have noted no single misprint either in the text or the footnotes. If, as Mr. Scammell himself says, de Puiset's episcopate 'was a succession of unrealized ambitions' we can only praise the writer who has unravelled with such skill and care the history of these curious failures. We may hope that his next book will be a history of northern England as a whole during the early Middle Ages. There can be few scholars so well equipped to undertake the task, and if Mr. Scammell will refrain from Macaulay's habit of assuming that 'every scholar knows' the most unusual references to tales current in the chronicles of the twelfth century, he should produce a work in the best tradition of English historical writing.

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ROSALIND HILL

FROM BECKET TO LANGTON: ENGLISH CHURCH GOVERNMENT 1170-1213.

(The Ford Lectures delivered in the University of Oxford in Hilary Term 1955.) By C. R. Cheney. Manchester University Press. 1956. x + 212 pp. 18s.

The lesser figures of the twelfth-century Church, men more like ourselves than Anselm or Thomas Becket, are easily lost in the brilliance of their great contemporaries. Professor Cheney has chosen a period and a theme which reveals 'the Church and the world' in its everyday setting, and shows us, so far as the records allow, how the life of the English Church was organized by ordinary

men with ordinary conceptions in the closing decades of the twelfth century. The result is fragmentary in places; is somewhat tentative and unfinished as a portrait of the age; but it is learned, shrewd, witty and often incisive, and makes a distinguished contribution to our understanding of the English Church and its government.

The later years of Alexander III and the early years of Innocent III were a period of intense and rapid development in the organization—and especially the legal organization—of the Roman see; and with Henry II and his sons on the English throne, the affairs of church and state were by no means calm or idle. In two central chapters, Professor Cheney describes the growth of papal power and the uneasy intercourse of *sacerdotium* and *regnum*. Closer bonds between England and Rome were giving scope, here as in the Church at large, for the first beginnings of papal provision (now for the first time studied in detail from the English evidence). Other familiar aspects of papal government in the ascendant were the multiplication of indulgences and dispensations, and the newly elaborated formal process of canonization. Far the most striking development—and thanks largely to the decretal collections, far the best documented—was the growth of appeals. Much has been said of this matter in recent years, but the author is able to add to a learned summary of the latest findings a singularly fair-minded appraisal of its qualities—of how it came to be so popular with those who sought injustice as well as with those who sought justice, at once a blessing and a burden on every stratum of clerical society. The later twelfth century saw a new obedience to the mandates of Rome and a sharper criticism of Rome's deficiencies. In the relations of church and state it witnessed a similar ambivalence. The notable victory of the dead Becket combined with the steady pressure of the schools of theology and law to teach the educated clergy the habit or at least the theory of obedience to Rome. But they did not unlearn either the theory or the practice of obedience to the monarch, still less the fear which the stronger Plantagenets inspired in all but the stoutest of their subjects. The compromises, the conflicts and the evasions to which this dual loyalty gave rise do not always make heroic reading; but they are skilfully and sympathetically disentangled in the present book.

Professor Cheney's name is a guarantee of high scholarly standards, and this book is as scholarly and precise as it is fair-minded. It may be that the concentration on the government of the secular church and the exclusion of the monasteries—although monastic problems are allowed to intrude from time to time—has slightly affected the balance of the book. Monastic government and monastic opinion were important sections of English church government at the time; and the monks still formed a very large proportion of the educated upper English clergy. Very few of them became bishops, and so there is little about them in the chapter on bishops; they come in from time to time when making appeals to Rome and such like, very little in the chapter on diocesan organization, and virtually not at all in the chapter on the laity. Professor Cheney has chosen his own limits, and they clearly do not allow the monks much say; but if the overall impression of his book is that the English Church was rather more worldly and secular than we had previously thought, it is well to remember that it is mainly the secular church which he has paraded for our inspection.

In the main, we would not have it otherwise. With our eyes on the men

who were leaders in church and state, it is Hubert Walter who 'towers above his English contemporaries', and he is splendidly characterized (pp. 32 ff.)—though perhaps a little too sympathetically. In the final chapter, Professor Cheney speaks for the class who had no voice. 'The layfolk must be taught their place . . . The clergy were the shepherds, the laity sheep.' But quietly and wittily he puts the layman's viewpoint too, without ever losing sight of the fact that the twelfth century layman was inevitably more sheep-like in church than his modern successor. We see the mutton asserting itself as patron, protector or pilgrim; we touch again the complexity of real life, and we are tantalized by the fragmentary evidence. And the touch of ordinary life is the final impression left by this learned and interesting book.

University of Liverpool

C. N. L. BROOKE

THE GREAT ROLL OF THE PIPE FOR THE FOURTEENTH YEAR OF THE REIGN OF KING JOHN, MICHAELMAS 1212 (Edited by Patricia M. Barnes. The Pipe Roll Society, new series xxx. 1954. xxxi + 252 pp.), covers what was, for John, a difficult year in which, as Miss Barnes points out, he was living to the very limit of his resources, both financial and military. In her useful and interesting introduction Miss Barnes surveys the main developments of the year and discusses several important topics on which this roll casts light. These include the exploitation of the church estates, the organization of naval forces, and the elaborate, but abandoned, plans for the subjugation of the Welsh. This volume, both text and introduction, is a valuable addition to the literature of John's reign.

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P. H. SAWYER

Mr. Charles Johnson has followed up his edition and translation of the *Dialogus de Scaccario* with another volume in the same series, THE DE MONETA OF NICHOLAS ORESME AND ENGLISH MINT DOCUMENTS (London: Nelson's Medieval Texts. 1956. xli + 114 pp. 20s.). The character of the *De Moneta* is best indicated by its alternative title, *Tractatus de mutacionibus monetarum*, for its main concern is to denounce the immorality and demonstrate the illegality of all attempts to tamper with the coinage. It is the most celebrated monetary tract of the Middle Ages, and as instructive in its limitations as in its positive qualities. Oresme supposes that fluctuations in the relative values of gold and silver occur only very rarely (*rarissime*), and stigmatizes banking and money-changing as the vilest of professions. The English mint documents which Mr. Johnson has included in the volume are in the main those printed by Hubert Hall in his edition of the *Red Book of the Exchequer*, but are differently arranged, and the altercation with the abbot of Bury St. Edmunds over the recoinage of 1280 is a novelty. It is useful to have these texts in a handy form, and it need hardly be said that Mr. Johnson's translation leaves nothing to be desired. The reasons for the existence of the Tower lb. could have been explained with advantage, for it is always a stumbling-block for scholars not familiar with numismatics, and even for some that are. There are a few errors or omissions. On p. xxix, 7 lines from the bottom, 'twenty-four' should be 'twenty-one'. The plate facing p. xxxiii is (following Sir John Craig) wrongly described; it illustrates coining in Germany, not in France, since the original of it occurs in the *Weisskunig* of the Emperor Maximilian. The *mylerenses* (i.e. *milliarenses*) of Spain are the small

square silver coins of the Nasrids of Granada, imitations of which were struck at Montpellier and elsewhere. The *Baudkyni* were *petits gros* of Flanders and Brabant; they are the *baldacchini coll'aquila* and *baldacchini cogli angioioli* of Pegolotti. The 'double talk' of the mint officials and the reasons for their refusal to give a 'standard' to the abbot of Bury St. Edmunds should have been elucidated. It is not very apparent from the text that Gregory de Rokesleye was talking all the time in terms of the Tower lb. and was refusing to tell the abbot what it was in terms of the Troy lb. The object of this piece of obstruction was his hope of deterring the abbot from minting at all for fear of making some error in the weight of the coins that would lay him open to legal proceedings.

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PHILIP GRIERSON

CALENDAR OF THE JUSTICIARY ROLLS OR PROCEEDINGS IN THE COURT OF THE JUSTICIAR OF IRELAND, I-VII. EDWARD II. Prepared under the Direction of H. Wood and A. E. Langman and revised by M. C. Griffith. Dublin: Stationery Office. 1956. vii + 406 pp. 63s.

Only one out of the entire series of Irish 'Justiciary Rolls' survived the destruction of the Dublin Record Office in 1922. At the time of this disaster calendars covering the reign of Edward I had already been published, and calendars for 1308-18 were awaiting final revision. The decision to publish these is very much to be welcomed, and the present volume carries the series forward to 1314 (covering the Rolls listed as nos. 85-7, 90, and 108 in *Irish Record Commission Reports*, 1816-20).

While there is nothing here to equal the general interest of the cases on the relation between English statute and Irish custom or between the English and Irish chanceries, calendared in the earlier volumes, a good deal of additional light is thrown on the routine working of the Justiciar's court and the Common Law in Ireland. The Crown Pleas, in particular, add interesting detail to the narrative history of the troubled years which preceded Bruce's invasion. The revolt of Robert of Verdun, for example, is well documented.

In the absence of the original MSS. the present editor has confined herself to minor verbal corrections. Apart from the regrettable absence of a subject-index, this volume achieves the same high standard of comprehensiveness as its predecessors.

Queen's University, Belfast

J. W. GRAY

CALENDAR OF ENTRIES IN THE PAPAL REGISTERS RELATING TO GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND. Vol. XIII. Prepared by J. A. Twemlow. London: H.M. Stationery Office. 1955. Pt. i, xvi + 470 pp. £4 4s. Pt. ii, 797 pp. £7 7s.

This new volume of a well-known calendar covering the pontificate of Sixtus IV (1471-84) contains the last instalment of the work of the late Mr. J. A. Twemlow on the papal registers. It is worth recalling that apart from the present volume he edited seven others in this series (VI-XII) and partly edited two more (IV and V). Left unfinished at his death, the work on volume XIII has been completed by the late Mr. S. C. Ratcliffe, who compiled the index of persons, and by the Rev. U. Flanagan, O.P., who has added an index of subjects and seen the volume through the press. It is gratifying to learn that, thanks to the co-operation of the Irish Manuscripts

Commission with the officials of the Public Record Office, the work on the papal registers is now going forward again. Less gratifying is the cost, £11 11s. for 1268 pages now as against £2 5s. for 824 pages in 1935.

This volume of the calendar is properly based on both Lateran and Vatican series of registers. At the end of the abstracts in the second volume there is printed a list of brief summaries (*rubricelle*) of lost bulls. This list serves to remind us that at least seventeen of the Lateran series for this reign have been lost. We owe the existence of the list of *rubricelle* to an eighteenth-century manuscript index, one volume of which has itself been lost. These losses have, therefore, been both extensive and of comparatively recent date. The occasion has been taken to print two documents of 1439 from one of the lost registers of Eugenius IV. These were found by Mgr. Mercati in 1926.

A great number of the abstracts of letters in this volume of the calendar relate to Scotland and Ireland. To take just two examples, the question of raising the see of St. Andrew's to archiepiscopal status and the mission of the abbot of Abingdon to reform Ireland in 1476 are extensively referred to. Of the first 100 entries in part one, 42 are concerned with Scotland and 22 with Ireland.

The contents of volume XIII are necessarily of the most diverse character. An extensive and systematic analysis would be needed to do them full justice. A number of tentative observations, however, may be made. A comparison with any volume of the calendar for the fourteenth century reveals the way in which in England provisions and reservations had been cut back until they were virtually confined to episcopal appointments. Here a working compromise was still in the fifteenth century the order of the day. Yet it is not to be supposed that the pope ceased to exercise a strong influence over the whole field of benefice-holding. For if the fourteenth-century popes had regularized the holding of benefices in plurality by the bulls of John XXII and Urban V, the fifteenth-century popes were prepared to sell exemptions from the tiresome limitations of Canon Law. Sixtus IV was clearly issuing these exemptions in considerable numbers to all sorts of members of the secular clergy. There is one splendid and detailed account of the practical way in which a priest went about securing one of these dispensations (p. 600). A solicitor had been employed but had failed to secure the dispensation for his client. The former alleged that he had acquired the papal letters but that these had been stolen during the journey from Rome. In fact, it seems, the money had been embezzled. A second payment and a second failure to produce the letters not unnaturally led the client to change his solicitor. He also now had to seek a rehabilitation since he had presumed on the success of the first application and, having occupied incompatible benefices, had offended against *Execrabilis*.

A second type of dispensation allowed a bishop to continue to hold a benefice after consecration (pp. 586 and 668). A third type conveyed dispensation to religious in order to enable them to hold benefices with cure of souls. There seem to have been a great number of this variety of dispensation issued. The Augustinian canons were, perhaps not unnaturally, especially to the fore in acquiring them. But many instances of Benedictines are also given and at least one of a Carmelite friar.

Elsewhere there are the usual papal interventions to solve disputed elections and many appeals concerning matrimonial cases. The weakening

position of such alien priories as had escaped the settlement of Henry V's reign is illustrated by the relations between Deerhurst, which though originally an Anglo-Saxon house had passed into the hands of St. Denis of Paris, and Tewkesbury (pp. 367-8, 630). The importance of the work of bishops with titles to sees in *partibus infidelium* is shown by references to the activities at London of the bishops of Beirut and Sidon. There are a number of letters affecting Edward IV and the court circle, especially the Woodvilles, and the foundation of houses of Carthusians and Observant Franciscans which they patronized. The surviving material for the thirteen years of Sixtus's reign is markedly more bulky than that for the combined reigns of Pius II and Paul II (1458-71). Several entries reflect his interest in the Turkish problem.

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J. R. L. HIGHFIELD

INALIENABILITY OF SOVEREIGNTY IN MEDIEVAL POLITICAL THOUGHT.

By Peter N. Riesenbergh. Columbia University Press; London: Oxford University Press. 1956. viii + 204 pp. 30s.

THE RECOVERY OF THE HOLY LAND. By Pierre Dubois. Trans. with an introduction and notes by Walther I. Brandt. Columbia University Press; London: Oxford University Press. 1956. xvi + 251 pp. 36s.

Mr. Riesenbergh has produced a careful monograph of considerable value and interest not only to political theorists but also to constitutional historians. His theme is strictly limited to the title of his book, and although this rather narrow delimitation is justifiable as the only means of tracing the doctrine of the inalienability of sovereignty into its many and diverse ramifications, it does tend to make for extreme concentration and very closely-packed argument. The book cannot be described as at all easy reading, but it is a work of fine scholarship based upon a thorough investigation of sources.

It is largely, perhaps rather too largely, taken up with discussion of the abstract theory of inalienability, but this is in itself a service of importance. For though constitutional historians are well aware of the protracted struggles of the kings of England and of other European countries, in medieval and early modern times, to preserve at all costs their sovereign rights as conceived in law and custom, they are less familiar with the heavy weight of theoretical support which lay behind the monarchical point of view.

Both Roman and Canon lawyers from at least the thirteenth century onwards developed very fully the notion that for a realm to exist or to continue to exist, its 'governing part' must possess and exercise certain rights and functions which together constituted what we call 'sovereignty', and which ought not, on any account, to be alienated. The notion was not confined in its application to the national monarchies; it was applied also to the Empire; it received its most explicit statement in Honorius III's decretal *Intellecto* in 1220; it was very widely regarded as an essential attribute of *imperium* in any form. Ample illustration of the acceptance and treatment of the doctrine by the theorists is provided by Mr. Riesenbergh.

But even more significant is the fact that the doctrine had highly important practical consequences. Mr. Riesenbergh does not by any means leave us in the dark in regard to these practical applications, but his examples are imbedded in his theoretical expositions, and it would have made for greater lucidity and usefulness if he had separated more clearly the theoretical and practical aspects of his theme, and indeed had enlarged somewhat on the

latter. For the doctrine of inalienability was the intellectual justification upon which, for example, Innocent III 'quashed' Magna Carta in 1215, Honorius III freed King Andrew II of Hungary from his restrictive coronation oath in 1220, and Louis IX framed the Mise of Amiens in 1264. Numerous other examples of the practical applications of the doctrine are to be found in this book.

The only modern edition of Pierre Dubois's *De Recuperatione Terre Sancte* is that by C. V. Langlois published in 1891. Mr. Brandt has translated this text collated with photostats of the only surviving manuscript, provided it with an Introduction of ample proportions, and has added materially to Langlois's notes to the text. Mr. Brandt's previous researches published in article form have shown that Dubois's ideas were not in fact anything like as original as used to be supposed; almost all of them were anticipated by his predecessors or asserted by many of his contemporaries. It is perhaps doubtful whether Dubois has much claim to be regarded as a serious political thinker at all. The motive of his numerous writings seems to have been to attract the attention of Philip IV and so to procure advancement for himself. It is not surprising that his efforts in that direction were in vain. For he had very little to say that was of any practical use to that hard-headed monarch, or indeed, to anyone. No doubt it was Dubois's misfortune that he had to try to win a place at the court of the king of France whilst earning his bread and butter in the legal service of Edward I as duke of Aquitaine. But his dedication of the first part of his book to Edward I and the second part to Philip IV can scarcely have endeared him to either monarch. His suggestions for the expansion of French power were naïve, even fantastic, in the extreme; his proposals for the conversion of the Greek clergy and the Saracens by the wholesale export of marriageable and highly educated French girls were imaginative but hardly practicable. He had nothing at all to contribute to the theory of the State. At best his ideas on a variety of social matters reflected the anti-clericalism and radicalism of many of his contemporaries. His influence upon his own and later times was negligible. As Mr. Brandt aptly remarks, 'he rushed in where the angels of his day might well have feared to tread'.

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S. B. CHRIMES

A second edition of M. L. W. Laistner's *THOUGHT AND LETTERS IN WESTERN EUROPE, A.D. 500 TO 900* (London: Methuen. 1957. 416 pp. 30s.) is to be welcomed warmly. The basis of the original work (reviewed *ante* xvii. 54-6) has been maintained, but new material has been skilfully worked into the text, as in the chapter on the study of Greek. The notes and bibliography have been largely rewritten.

Historians of medieval Britain will welcome *BRITAIN IN MEDIEVAL FRENCH LITERATURE, 1100-1500*, by P. Rickard (Cambridge University Press. 1956. x + 282 pp. 35s.), a scholarly survey based on a very wide reading. It constructs the picture of Britain that is to be found in the vernacular prose and poetry of France between the *Chanson de Roland* and various fifteenth-century works, including the extremely interesting *Débat des hérauts d'armes*. The historian will find most value in Chapters II-X, in the conclusion, and not least in the bibliography and footnotes. If, inevitably, the Arthurian cycle looms largest, there are also informative chapters on the English,

Scots and Irish character, as seen by French writers who were by no means always mere caricaturists.

W. Hubatsch in an interesting article *DER DEUTSCHE ORDEN UND DIE REICHSLEHNSCHAFT ÜBER CYPERN* (*Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen*. Göttingen: 1955) pieces together the history of the Teutonic Knights in Cyprus. He sees a close connection between their success in the island and the years when the emperors Henry VI and Frederick II were its effective suzerains and also between Hermann von Salza's decision to deflect the main effort of his order from the Mediterranean to the east German frontier and the rebellion in 1229 of Cyprus against her German overlord, which in its turn coincided with the beginning of the ill-success of Frederick II's policy of expansion in the Near East.

Among the new volumes published in the Everyman's Library is an entirely new selection of *THE PASTON LETTERS*, edited by John Warrington (London: Dent. 1956. 2 vols. xxiii + 264 pp., xi + 283 pp. 6s. each).

CARDINAL GASQUET AS AN HISTORIAN, by M. D. Knowles (London: Athlone Press. 1957. 26 pp. 3s. 6d.) gives a vivid and moving picture of the man, and a just assessment of the historian, which deserves to be read widely.

EARLY MODERN

A HISTORY OF THE ENGLISH-SPEAKING PEOPLES: II. THE NEW WORLD. By Winston S. Churchill. London: Cassell. 1956. 344 pp. 30s.

The second volume of Sir Winston's history covers the years 1485 to 1688. Its sub-title, *The New World*, is a little misleading, for from it one might suppose that the history of the English-speaking peoples would now extend its narrative to cover the New World of the American continent. In fact, only the briefest treatment is given to its discovery and its settlement. We must hope that the volume on the eighteenth century will deal more generously with the American colonies. This is, however, the only disappointment in a book which maintains the rapid movement of the first volume, its penetrating clarity and its magnanimous judgements. The style has become more clipped, but the vocabulary is as apt as ever. It is not difficult to make one general criticism, that in over-simplifying the story to keep it within the bounds he has set himself, Sir Winston may sometimes mislead the inexperienced reader. It is easy to point out that just here he falls short, just there he overshoots the mark. The map on page 19 is misleading in that it does not distinguish the Parliamentary strongholds in Royalist areas, such as Hull and Pembroke. Is it not strange that of all the English-speaking people, Shakespeare is only mentioned twice, and then almost casually? Is it not going a little too far (*pace* Mr. G. R. Elton) to attribute to Thomas Cromwell 'the Government service of modern England', and to hail him as the 'architect of our great departments of State'? And, in passing, one might ask, what is the plural of Lord-Lieutenant?

Against these small points of detail we have to set a tremendous achievement. This book is, in effect, a new way of revealing history. Its author's purpose is not to instruct, nor to record nor to exhibit. Macaulay was a superb showman: he resurrected the events of the past, but he never lived in them and he never felt them. Sir Winston lives again for his readers the

events he describes. His book deals almost solely in political history, and he himself possesses a longer, wider and deeper political experience than any other historian. He tells us what it felt like to be involved in the dramatic events of those two centuries. He feels and understands as living forces all the political implications in events which other historians record as dead history. Chapter VIII, *The Axe Falls*, is a wonderful example of how to relive the past and yet at the same time to preserve objective judgement. What makes this book such a spacious education is the Christian charity of those judgements. Sir Winston condemns unsparingly the crime—especially the crime of brutality and violence; he remains tolerant and generous towards the criminal. In this book Strafford stands uncondemned, because he had done nothing worthy of condemnation. 'The circumstances of his trial and of the Attainder threw odium upon his pursuers. They slaughtered a man they could not convict.' But political wisdom and wide generosity come to the rescue of Pym and his followers: 'But that man, if given his full career, would have closed perhaps for generations the windows of civic freedom upon the English people.'

Again, the author has no love for Oliver Cromwell with his 'smoky soul' and his 'repellent phrases'. He minces no words in his detestation for the brutality at Drogheda, and he has many pungent phrases which would outrage Carlyle. But at the last magnanimity wins: 'With all his faults and failures he was indeed the Lord Protector of the enduring rights of the Old England he loved against the terrible weapon which he and Parliament had forged to assert them. Without Cromwell there might have been no advance, without him no collapse, without him no recovery. Amid the ruins of every institution, social and political, which had hitherto guided the Island life he towered up, gigantic, glowing, indispensable, the sole agency by which time could be gained for healing and regrowth.'

In the notice of volume I your reviewer recommended that book to kindle the historical spark in historians still at school. He has since had an opportunity of seeing in practice the vitalizing effect on the written work of Sixth Formers which came from reading the chapters on the early Stuarts in volume II.

Eton College

C. R. N. ROUTH

Nothing that Rear-Admiral S. E. Morison writes on Columbus can be neglected, and, indeed, CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS, MARINER (London: Faber and Faber. 1956. 236 pp. 21s.), is to be highly recommended as the best short account of the navigator that has yet appeared. The two-volume, *Admiral of the Ocean Sea* (Harvard University Press, 1942), even when stripped of its notes and some technical detail, ran, in the popular edition, *Christopher Columbus, Admiral of the Ocean Sea*, to 680 pages, and, though highly readable, was somewhat bulky for the general reader or the young student. The new book contains, within 236 pages, the essence of the earlier work and will certainly reach a wide audience. By no means a mechanical reduction of the larger book, it is freshly and vividly written, and incorporates the discriminating reflections of the author, born of fourteen years additional study of the subject. It is no criticism that it has few new discoveries to report, since the 1942 achievement was so near definitiveness as not to matter, but there is a racy introduction describing the author's voyages in search of his subject,

a new translation of the 1493 letter and some new illustrations. If a fault is to be found it is that the book as it now stands is a little too brief. A few episodes could have done with a somewhat extended treatment, while Columbus and his achievements might have been set more firmly in the framework of his age. But as a portrait of the man and his work it is excellently done.

University of Liverpool

D. B. QUINN

THE EMPEROR CHARLES THE FIFTH. By Royall Tyler. London: Allen and Unwin. 1956. 375 pp. 32s.

The Emperor Charles V played so epochal a part in European history that a new life raises great expectations. It must be said at once that in part these are not fulfilled. The author was a genuine scholar with a profound knowledge of Spanish history; he edited the five volumes of the Calendar of State Papers relating to negotiations between England and Spain with scrupulous care. He had been employed in active diplomacy. Indeed the combination of good scholarship, an unusually wide range of languages and practical experience of international politics should have made him particularly well-suited to interpret the complexities of Charles's reign. Unfortunately Royall Tyler died in 1953 and his work bears marks of a lack of revision. There are errors which the author would almost certainly have eliminated. Elizabeth I, for instance, was not confined in Pontefract Castle after Wyatt's rebellion. There are a number of misprints; 1448 instead of 1498 (p. 126), 1543 instead of 1453 (p. 134), Capus instead of Capua (p. 151), Melchqr instead of Melchior (p. 229) and so on. The index is inadequate. The allusions to the contemporary scene are not always happy (e.g. 'Germans . . . enthralled by Luther . . . surging in one of those bouts of collective exaltation which it has now and then been their lot to experience' is a statement misleading and possibly untrue). The style is often cumbrous; to describe Stephen Gardiner as 'another heterodox Cantab.' jars on an English ear. The prose only rarely permits the imagination to respond to the grandeur and intrinsic interest of the scene.

These are faults which the author would have removed if he had lived. The defective proportions of the book are more serious because they give rise to an unbalanced interpretation of the Emperor's life and reign. Edward Armstrong's two volume life of Charles V, running to 737 pages, important as it still is, is in some ways outdated. Miss Wedgwood's translation of Karl Brandi's life, 645 pages long, is invaluable; but the second volume *Quellen und Erörterungen* has not been translated and is difficult to obtain outside Germany. Moreover, as Brandi was mainly concerned with German problems, he gave too little attention to Spain and the Low Countries. There was therefore ample scope for a fresh interpretation. Tyler's book is relatively short, 285 pages of text in all. The illustrations are of outstanding interest and there is an excellent critical bibliography. The treatment is not chronological but topical. This has its advantages but it adds greatly to the complexity of what is often a too highly compressed narrative and results in a series of rather sketchy parallel chapters. It is a more serious complaint that the topics are not evenly balanced, and that matter of an irrelevant character is often intruded. Only two chapters, Protestants and Politics in Germany and the Hapsburg Succession, are directly concerned with German problems. To spend fifty-two pages on Charles's relations with England and the marriage

of Philip and Mary suggests that the author has allowed his interest in the Calendar of State Papers to override his historical judgement. There are many places where the author spends too much time on irrelevant minutiae. Thus he takes two pages to investigate the hypothesis that Charles's ancestors in the early twelfth century may have had Jewish or Moorish blood.

While these defects mar they do not destroy the importance of what Mr. Tyler has done. Acknowledging his indebtedness to Ramon Carande's important *Carlos Quinto y sus Banqueros*, he throws new light for English readers on the condition of the Spanish finances, and proves beyond question that the financial problem facing Charles V was basic to his failure; he stresses that whereas ordinary merchants were paying seven or eight per cent the Holy Roman Emperor was charged forty per cent interest; such was the state of his credit towards the end of his reign. He underlines the native attraction and simplicity of Charles's character, even if he is as a result somewhat unfair to Philip II. Above all, he indicates the complex nature of the problems facing Charles and his own hesitant, old-fashioned attitude to them. The Emperor had few of the characteristics of the contemporary princes. Living in a court where the influence of Erasmus waxed strong, he was unaffected by the new trends in scholarship and art. He loathed heresy as the sin of witchcraft but his Catholicism was more suited to the world of the conciliar movement than the arbitrary and involved policy of the secular-minded pontiffs with whom he had to deal. He was in many ways untouched by contemporary absolutism, freely allowing criticism and placing weight on the advice of ministers like Gattinara. Above all, his policy and life were dominated by the devotion to his house, not so much as Hapsburgs as Burgundians. It was not for nothing that his descent was traced back to Priam of Troy or that he spoke of Burgundy as *nuestra patria*. He became in later life a Spaniard, he was never a German; but ultimately in mind and feeling he was a product of that medieval-modern transitional state of Burgundy, and while his failure (a failure qualified, as the author makes plain, by some success in determining the future shape of European politics in Germany, Italy and the Low Countries) was made inevitable by the number of problems which faced him, his own character and upbringing were also contributory factors.

Lincoln College, Oxford

V. H. H. GREEN

GENEVA AND THE COMING OF THE WARS OF RELIGION IN FRANCE 1555-1563. By Robert M. Kingdon. Geneva: E. Droz. 1956. 163 pp. 22 Sw. fr. This relatively short monograph by a young American scholar is of unusual interest and significance. Based on detailed research in city and church records at Geneva, its purpose is to examine the role of the Genevan corporation and the Company of Pastors both in the growth of the Huguenot church and in the disorders that led to the outbreak of the Religious Wars. The author first employs the biographical approach by choosing a sample eighty-eight of the missionary pastors sent to France from Geneva, examining their careers—their origins, the social class to which they belonged, their training in Geneva, their dispatch to the mission field, the disciplinary supervision there kept on them by Geneva, and their subsequent fate, which in some instances was martyrdom. The result of this first section of the book is a precision, never before given, to what might almost be described as a highly-organized subversive conspiracy, directed from Geneva. In his

subsequent discussion of the part played by some of these missionaries and their French and Genevan co-workers in the political intrigue that led to civil war, Mr. Kingdon re-examines the Conspiracy of Amboise and, while confirming the modern view which exonerates Calvin in particular and the Huguenots in general from responsibility, nevertheless reveals individual links and widespread sympathy. As a background to the outbreak of the first of the Religious Wars, Mr. Kingdon, in two fascinating chapters, deals with the organization and activities of the Huguenot church, as reflected in the Genevan archives, in the peak years of 1561-2, showing the flow of ministers from Geneva to France, the supervision maintained both by the city authorities and the Company of Pastors, and, finally, the flood of propaganda. His statistics on the Genevan publishing trade and propagandist literature are most impressive. Two further chapters deal with the aid in money and armaments furnished to Condé's forces during the first war.

As will be obvious, this book is of first-class importance for French history, but its author is right in claiming that it has a bearing on Dutch and English, not to mention Scottish, history, and offers parallels with the ideological movements of our own times. The present reviewer certainly finds it illuminating for an appreciation of the Puritan Classical Movement in Elizabethan history, and also as a basis of comparison for the activities of Catholic missionaries.

University College, London

J. E. NEALE

ELIZABETH I AND HER PARLIAMENTS, 1584-1601. By J. E. Neale. London: Cape. 1957. 452 pp. 30s.

With this volume Sir John Neale completes his magisterial work on the Elizabethan Parliament. His first volume introduced us to the organization and structure of the sixteenth-century House of Commons; the second gave us a chronological history of the Parliaments from Elizabeth's accession to 1581; this completes the story to the Queen's last Parliament in 1601.

The first part of the book, dealing with the decade of the 1580's, covers the crisis of the reign, in both domestic and foreign affairs. In his account of the three Parliaments of this period Professor Neale gives a most vivid and lively picture of Elizabethan politics, probably the most complete and satisfactory yet produced. Using scattered and often unsatisfactory sources with great skill, he not only reproduces the atmosphere of the Elizabethan House of Commons but writes what is in effect a full-scale history of English domestic politics in this climatic decade. Parliament, during its meetings, occupies the full stage of English politics, and in it are focussed the great issues of the day—the security of the state and the reform of the Church. Hence the final scenes in the long-drawn-out contest between the English and Scottish Queens and the initiation of Whitgift's new order in the Church are major episodes in the book.

For the last four Parliaments of the reign, between 1589 and 1601, the sources are perhaps not so rich; the substance of their proceedings is less exciting. Yet these chapters are most important, for they reveal clearly how rapidly the climate of English political life was changing in this decade and how uncomfortable the new airs were for the Tudor monarchy.

The chronological structure of the book does not permit the author to include much about those shifting patterns of local politics and Parliament-

ary patronage to which he introduced us in *The Elizabethan House of Commons*, but we may hope to hear more of them in the forthcoming general parliamentary history.

Neale's three volumes have added a new dimension to our understanding of the sixteenth-century political order; they open the way for re-casting many conceptions and for new approaches in investigation. This final volume only confirms what was clear in the earlier ones, namely that the major rôle of the House of Commons begins nearly half a century before the quarrels between James I and his Parliaments. Coherent political programmes, organized political groups (both within and without the House), and the determination of the members to voice their opinions on every possible subject are all features of Elizabethan as of Jacobean Parliaments. Henceforward the public opinion of the politically conscious segments of English society was to play a large, although as yet not decisive rôle in the conduct of English government. The ancient struggle for power and place was now confusingly criss-crossed by the manœuvres of ideological blocs.

Still, it would be very unwise to over-emphasize the modernity of Elizabethan politics. To modern taste they have a bizarre, almost fantastic quality. Those embroidered ceremonial speeches of the Speaker which Professor Neale has wisely quoted at length bring home to us the political reality of the personal cult of the Queen. The atmosphere of Parliament as of the court is one of extravagant adulation in the true strain of divine right monarchy. And there can be no doubt that the Queen exploited this precious but fragile asset with consummate skill.

Less comprehensible to the modern imagination is the paradox produced by frequent and forthright opposition to royal policy. In the very speech in which he seeks to demolish the whole Elizabethan religious settlement, Job Throckmorton ventures to hope that the Queen's death will coincide with the Second Coming. This extravagance is only an extreme example of the curious contradictions of the political scene. Trusted ministers like Mildmay or Knollys, faithful officials like Morice or Beale had no hesitation in doing all they could to thwart the Queen's will in the House. It is a world in which the underlying tensions between divine right autocracy, based on a personal cult of the Queen, and the claims of a self-willed and opinionated aristocracy are yet to reveal themselves. But they are already existent and give a singular tone to the Elizabethan political scene.

During the Queen's lifetime there was never any doubt that she could enforce her will, even against the most obstreperous House of Commons. The Queen of England was still an autocrat, and the political world was organized around this fact. The skilful and determined Puritan offensive was utterly crushed by the effective weapons of royal autocracy. The centre of political gravity was clearly in the Queen and political events turned on her will.

Yet it is clear from this volume that Elizabeth was driven during these crisis years by forces less amenable than the House of Commons. In the great affair of the Queen of Scots she fought a successful battle against the extremists in the House (and in the Council) only to have to yield on the main issue. Professor Neale gives a clear and convincing account of the final scenes in this long-drawn-out episode. It reveals among other things the Queen's deep irritation at being forced into a course she thoroughly disliked.

From that time on the necessities of war compelled her to more than one unwelcome decision.

While the driving force of war pushed the Queen along distasteful and unfamiliar paths, her ancient and familiar councillors began to vanish, one by one, from the scene. The growing political and personal isolation of the Queen is a dominant theme in the later chapters of this volume. One of the most astonishing features of the Elizabethan political world is the continuity of personnel, not only at the top but in the middle reaches of government. Now these ministers and officials, lifetime counsellors of the sovereign, dominant in each succeeding Parliament, begin to disappear and nearly all were to predecease the Queen. The consequences in Parliament were direct and immediate, and we see the beginnings of those leaderless, drifting sessions so characteristic of James's reign. To the new generation of the 1590's the Queen was remote and ageing; they gave her whole-hearted respect, but their attention was turning to new objects of interest. To the very end Elizabeth lost none of her personal skill in handling Parliament, but the old pattern of royal management of the Commons through Privy Councillors was missing.

For the Queen her isolation was a personal tragedy; for the nation it was a constitutional catastrophe. The fragile structure of Tudor government began to fall apart, beam by beam. By sheer *tour de force* the Queen had carried the nation through successive crises, but her political skill was so personal that as the relationships on which it was built vanished, the underlying hollowness appeared. The outdated and inefficient fiscal system, the anachronistic and chaotic administrative order stood revealed when the strong hand of Burghley and his collaborators was removed. Already the blind scramble for place had begun. Above all, the restless House of Commons, no longer dominated by the Puritans, was beginning to shift its attention to social, economic, and ultimately constitutional grievances. In politics the Elizabethan age was over before the death of the Queen.

Haverford College, Pennsylvania

WALLACE MACCAFFREY

LUDWIG CAMERARIUS (1573-1651): EINE BIOGRAPHIE. By F. H. Schubert.

Munich: Michael Lasseben. 1955. xxxiv + 436 pp. DM. 24.

Neither in Miss Wedgwood's popular sketch of the Thirty Years' War nor in Gindely is Camerarius even mentioned, and a 200,000-word biography in German is not likely to attract many English readers outside a small specialist circle. Yet though he was only a minor figure, his long and chequered career is of some interest and had some influence on the course of events. Born into a family well known for its humanist scholarship and its Protestantism, Camerarius was dominated by the threat to his religion from the Counter-Reformation. Like other ministers of the Elector Palatine, he sought to bind together the Protestant states of Germany, Calvinist and Lutheran, into one Evangelical Union; like them also he played a part in the ill-fated endeavour to win Bohemia for the Protestant cause. In the *Kanzleienstreit* or pamphlet propaganda war which followed the disastrous Battle of the White Hill he was the principal Protestant protagonist. Then, in his master's exile in the Netherlands, his influence was cast against reconciliation and in favour of attempts to gain assistance from other Protestant powers (and from the Turks) for a large-scale war of religion to redress the balance in Germany.

He was one of the first to place his hopes in Gustavus Adolphus, and became Swedish ambassador in The Hague and one of the principal purveyors to Stockholm of the news and views on European affairs on which that King and Oxenstierna based their policies. In his old age he founded the great collection of letters known as the *Collectio Camerariana*, now in Munich and valuable for the study of German Protestantism in the century after Luther.

His career reminds us, when there is a tendency to stress the power politics of the Thirty Years' War, that there were some at least who thought of it as a war of religion, found it natural to think of Gustavus Adolphus as Gideon, and had misgivings about a French alliance because France was ruled by a Cardinal. Drawing his material from archives in different countries and in six or seven different languages, the author has produced an authoritative work, useful to the student of Swedish policy as well as those interested in purely German affairs. He does not exaggerate either the ability or the success of his subject as a diplomatist and avoids the temptation to lose the general picture in a mass of detail. His opinions are on the whole judicious, but need the book have been so long?

University of Sheffield

K. H. D. HALEY

ENGLISH HISTORICAL SCHOLARSHIP IN THE SIXTEENTH AND SEVENTEENTH CENTURIES. Edited by Levi Fox. Published for the Dugdale Society by the Oxford University Press. 1956. vi + 153 pp. 21s.

This handsomely-printed volume comprises papers read to the Dugdale Society Conference, held at Warwick in July 1956, to commemorate the tercentenary of Dugdale's *Warwickshire*. The general purpose of the course, as Professor Cheney explains in his Introduction, was to investigate the state of English historical scholarship in Dugdale's own time and in the century which preceded it: and perhaps the most vivid impression left by the five specialist studies in this volume is of the immense disabilities under which scholars of the period had to work. Many of the public records, as Professor Wernham reminds us, were widely dispersed, inaccessible and for the most part in the care of officials to whom they were of secondary importance. The study of genealogy and heraldry, wittily outlined by Mr. Maclagan, is seen to have been hampered by deliberate or haphazard falsification, invention of anecdotes, usurpations and false quarterings and, in the sixteenth century, by a low standard of taste. Contemporary politics, Mr. Styles contends, could also be hampering, for the student of institutions almost inevitably entertained unhistorical views of such subjects as the significance of Magna Carta, the antiquity of the common law and the origins of parliament. The study of diplomatics was in its infancy, and monastic charters, in the words of Professor Cronine, 'constituted a difficult and treacherous terrain'. Chaos in philology aptly reflected the Tower of Babel from which many philological notions derived: and a generally unhistorical habit of mind (illustrated by Professor Piggott in a brilliant sketch of contemporary antiquarian thought) resulted from the propagandist intention of most of the early antiquaries and from their uncritical acceptance of the historicity of the Hebrew scriptures and of the Greek and Roman historians.

Yet there were compensations. If concentration of the public records in a single repository had to be deferred till the nineteenth century, at least a beginning had been made with the establishment of the State Paper Office

in 1578. Thanks largely to the work of Dugdale, whose *Baronage* is a landmark in the history of genealogical learning, the seventeenth century saw the emergence of a new scholarship in the fields of genealogy and heraldry. Political controversy aroused interest in social and constitutional antiquities, and no medievalist can dismiss as negligible the age which produced Spelman's studies in feudalism or Selden on the *Modus tenendi parliamentum*. The study of charters was immeasurably advanced by Dodsworth and Dugdale and, though the latter was capable of such enormities as the fabrication of parliamentary writs, he understood the importance of this class of documents and the need to collate his texts. Recognition of the value of the classical historians for early British history, the new light thrown on aboriginal man by the discovery of the Americas, and the foundation of the Royal Society, all encouraged a more scientific approach to pre-history and made possible such disinterested antiquarian studies as those of John Aubrey and Edward Lhwyd.

In the concluding paper (to which Professors Powicke, Galbraith, Knowles and Jacob all contribute) on the value of the scholarship of this period, Sir Maurice Powicke expresses the hope that the Society may proceed with plans for a definitive Life of the great antiquary. Some of those present at Warwick would have welcomed a little more emphasis on local history, even a paper on the *Warwickshire* itself: but, when such generous fare has been provided, it is ungracious, perhaps, to ask for more. The Dugdale Society has put all students of English historiography in its debt by the publication of this stimulating and scholarly symposium.

Westfield College, London

MAY McKISACK

ECONOMIC PROBLEMS OF THE CHURCH, FROM ARCHBISHOP WHITGIFT TO THE LONG PARLIAMENT. By Christopher Hill. London: O.U.P. 1956. xvi + 367 pp. 42s.

Mr. Hill remarked in a recent review that there are two Professor Notesteins. It is even more true that there are two Christopher Hills. One is the author of the standard marxist textbook on England's bourgeois revolution, and of various later expositions of the party line on the seventeenth century. The other, known so far mainly to a limited circle of pupils and friends, and to readers of reviews in this journal and elsewhere, is one of the finest living scholars of the period, effervescent with knowledge and love of its people and literature, and applying a penetratingly agile criticism to every interpretation of its structure. The two are agreed of course on a large part of their approach to historical problems: that behind ideas and leaders must be sought economic stimuli; that the people are the origin of all just power, and wealth the origin of much unjust power; that Whig history and Tory history are alike to be distrusted. They seem agreed too in striving to conceal the disagreements with each other that become increasingly apparent to the outside world.

Here at last is a full-scale work by the second Hill. Its stark title hardly reveals its importance in the study of the great conflict and the society in which it arose. Nor does it suggest that the book, with its clarity of style and abundance of apt quotation, is one of the most delightfully readable works of historical scholarship to appear for decades. Its subject is the relationship of the church to propertied society and the state. By medieval standards the

church was now poor—its lower clergy sometimes abjectly poor. It provided, through patronage and impropriation, a steady source of income for the state and for the gentry. It offered them also a constant temptation to indulge in further outright seizure of its possessions. But the church was a support for the established order which far-sighted members of the ruling groups saw must be strengthened rather than plundered, and which puritans had a correspondingly wide range of motives for attacking. To make sense of such vague simplifications it is necessary to understand a good deal of the technicalities of ecclesiastical estates, tithe, and patronage, which authors of textbooks too often find it expedient to assume need no explanation. They are elucidated here with enough detail to satisfy all but the most avid statistician and enough mercy on the reader in the shape of summary, recapitulation and lively contemporary anecdote to make the process continuously enjoyable. Beginning with the episcopal estates and their spoliation under Elizabeth, we come down to the level of the parochial 'benefice' and its 'incumbent'—words which, Mr. Hill points out, imply that the parsonage was primarily a piece of property and the vicar a burden that reduced its value. For this is the level too of the patron and the impropriator, the men who 'made the churches and ministry base, contemptible, and beggarly'. Laud and the puritans each had their solution to the problem, and neither in these pre-war years met with much success. But their efforts can only be judged in relation to the whole history of the age. Laud, Mr. Hill insists, could never have succeeded because his church was fitted only for a medieval society; efforts like those of the feoffees for impropriations and the puritan congregations supporting their preaching ministers were the harbingers of greater things to come. Up to a point his argument that the seventeenth-century crisis of the church, seen in its context, was unique carries conviction. But at times it looks self-contradictory. The church after 1660 had it is true no High Commission, no rigid monopoly, no ties as close as the Laudian ones with national politics. But tithes and fees, 'appropriate in one state of society and not in another', continued. So did clerical poverty and lay exploitation, though their impact was less than under the early Stuarts and far less than under the Tudors. If post-restoration society was bourgeois society, ought not the troubles of the church to have been worse, or the changes in it greater?

Throughout the book the topics on which the party-worshipping Hill has rested his faith are never far away; and here they are treated for the most part with a gentle undogmatic realism. Yet it leaves one wondering how far the preacher is repudiating his gospel. Does the Hill who now mocks at light-hearted talk of 'that ubiquitous class the rising bourgeoisie' and stresses that the English Revolution got stuck half-way, agree or disagree with the one who reiterates that power was transferred from the feudal landed class to the capitalists? Is he, in writing that 'divisions within the landowning class were carried over into, though of course did not create, a war of ideas inside the church', forsaking the belief that 'each class created and sought to impose the doctrine best suited to its own needs and interests'? There are moments when one feels that he can be a master of evasion as well as of clarity, or that when the danger of heresy is too apparent a few phrases from the jargon-bag are thrown in to make amends. Sometimes, as in the not very convincing explanation why some suspiciously feudal-looking peers were 'Puritans', he answers specific criticisms of marxist tenets; usually he prefers to let us, if we

wish, ignore his occasional genuflexions and listen to the sound sense he talks. That undoubtedly is what most of his readers will do; for though Mr. Hill may hate to believe it his book will be of value when arguments about what does or does not rank as a bourgeois revolution have become as antique as those on the Laudian canons.

One minor grumble seems worth a postscript. Mr. Hill's footnotes are a treasure-house of sources familiar and unfamiliar. Why then does he assume in his readers an infallible memory for every one of them by substituting for any title that has been mentioned before those infuriating syllables '*op. cit.*'? It is time they were banned by every publisher in the land.

University of Manchester

D. H. PENNINGTON

THE LION AND THE THRONE: THE LIFE AND TIMES OF SIR EDWARD COKE 1552-1634. By Catherine Drinker Bowen. London: Hamish Hamilton. 1957. xiv + 531 pp. 42s.

THE LIFE OF SIR JOHN ELIOT 1592 TO 1632: STRUGGLE FOR PARLIAMENTARY FREEDOM. By Harold Hulme. London: Allen and Unwin. 1957. 423 pp. 35s.

Students of early Stuart history, whose appetites were whetted by seeing full-scale biographies of Coke and Eliot announced within a few weeks of each other, are likely to be disappointed by the first of these.

Mrs. Bowen has used the accepted secondary authorities and most of the better known printed sources. But she explicitly disclaims any intention of breaking new ground; style and the 'evocation' of atmosphere matter more to her than the advancement of historical knowledge or understanding. For her the gutters run 'richly' with blood and the conduits with claret; trumpets blow their notes 'clear, piercingly sweet against the summer air'; trumpeters 'let fly in unison their high clear joyful blast'; at Essex's trial Raleigh's 'dark bearded face was inscrutable, the dark glance careless, poised'. State trials and executions provide splendid material for this 'Technicolor' history. Mistakes of detail are numerous: for example Robert Cecil was appointed Secretary of State in 1596 not 1594; Chief Justice Popham could not have been 'stocking Virginia . . . from the jails of England' in 1601; 'impositions' (the extra customs duties imposed by James and Charles I without the consent of parliament) seem to be confused with customs duties in general, otherwise it is ludicrous to say that 'the largest part of Crown monies was derived from impositions'; the uniquely lucrative legal office which Buckingham wanted, and eventually obtained, was the Clerkship of King's Bench (known as 'Roper's office'), not of Common Pleas.

More serious for Mrs. Bowen, 'exposition' cannot be excluded from history, as she would seem to wish. She is compelled to offer some exposition of Coke's significance in English legal and constitutional history; but she scarcely tries to account for the changes, or apparent changes, in his attitude after his appointment as Chief Justice in 1606, and again after his dismissal from the bench in 1616. It may be true that 'it is not easy, even now, to pin down Sir Edward Coke to theories beyond the theory that England is governed by the common law', and that 'Coke's change of direction was logical: Stuart England was not Tudor England; a man could with honesty uphold Elizabeth's prerogative and cry down James's'. But more explanation is needed if one is to make sense of the later phases of Coke's career. Did

he at one stage seek to exalt judge-made law above statute as well as above royal prerogative, and subsequently wish to turn Magna Carta into a sort of fundamental law, superior to the rest of statute as well as to prerogative and case law? Was he the deliberate and dedicated, or merely the incidental and even involuntary ally of the other parliamentary leaders in the 1620's? Is it correct to think of his constitutional ideas, defeated in 1629, re-emerging in 1641, defeated again in 1642-9, triumphing in 1660, and again finally in 1689?

Again, Mrs. Bowen describes Coke's legal writings, but evades almost all the problems about his role as a codifier and perhaps a renovator of the Common Law. Have Holdsworth and other legal historians exaggerated his importance as well as his merits? Did Coke accelerate or retard the adaptation of English law to meet changing needs? What political and social forces were involved in the clashes between the common lawyers and their rivals in the equity, ecclesiastical, and prerogative courts? Questions such as these are as much a part of the stuff and texture of our history as furred gowns, lowing cattle, roses blowing along their beds, or Raleigh's dark glance.

By contrast Professor Hulme's *Life of Eliot* has many virtues. He has made good use of the Port Eliot (St. Germans) manuscripts and the (mainly unpublished) parliamentary diaries for 1624-9. He proves beyond reasonable doubt that Forster, Eliot's Victorian hagiographer, was not merely unscholarly but dishonest in the way he tampered with the sources. Professor Hulme's account of the parliaments of 1625-9 is in some respects fuller and clearer than that given in Gardiner's great *History*; his evaluation of Eliot's role in these parliaments and of his general importance is probably sounder than Gardiner's, let alone Forster's. Detailed, balanced, and scrupulously accurate, this book deserves to be judged by the highest standards. It seems to this reviewer (though not all will agree) to be weak in that it does not quite bring Eliot alive as a man or as a politician, and in that it does not relate Eliot and his colleagues in the House of Commons sufficiently to the wider movement of political, religious, and social forces. There is interesting material on Eliot's social background and economic circumstances, and on his relations with Buckingham; but more analysis is needed both of the royal patronage system (or 'court' politics) and of what is to be understood in the 1620's by the 'country' interest, a term which Professor Hulme, like Eliot himself, seems rather free with, and reluctant to examine more fully. On the great constitutional issues, Professor Hulme sometimes seems so concerned to refute Forster that he ends by belittling Eliot himself. He demonstrates convincingly that Eliot was headstrong, a bad political tactician, and a dreadfully difficult colleague, that he confused the extension of parliamentary privilege with the cause of constitutional government and the rule of law, and that he was logically or psychologically incapable of attacking the King openly and not only through his ministers. While welcoming this redressal of the unbalanced picture given by Forster, and not adequately corrected even by Gardiner, some answer may perhaps be offered on Eliot's behalf. The sort of constitutional reasonableness and moderation which Professor Hulme seems to imply that Eliot should have adopted got nowhere with Charles I; if Eliot was a tiresome, narrow-minded, illogical fanatic, posterity is not the less in his debt on this account. And, while Professor Hulme praises Eliot's championship of parliamentary freedom of speech, the dictum of the responsibility of ministers and of the King's (or Queen's) personal inability to

do wrong was also, for better or worse, eventually to triumph alike over Stuarts and republicans.

After Mrs. Bowen, Professor Hulme's style is a welcome relief, but some readers may feel that he has been so anxious to avoid exaggeration and 'fine writing' that he has erred in the opposite direction, making his story seem less exciting and less important than it is. These are meant as criticisms of a useful, and eminently worthwhile book. It is a pity that Eliot has been so much the better served, because of the two, Coke is in some ways the more interesting, and—it is arguable—the more important.

University of Manchester

G. E. AYLME

FOUR WORTHIES. By Wallace Notestein. London: Cape. 1956. 248 pp. 18s. It is to transatlantic scholarship that the present generation in this country is chiefly indebted for fresh light on the age of the Stuarts—especially, of course, to Professor Notestein and the school he has inspired. For well over thirty years—ever since his classic Raleigh Lecture—what he has written has been indispensable to every other worker in the field. Having endowed the specialist with his massive editions of the parliamentary diarists, he now turns his searchlight on broader perspectives where the general reader is more at home. Within a few years he had followed up his deservedly popular *English People on the Eve of Colonization* and *English Folk* by equally delightful studies of four of the secondary figures of the age—John Chamberlain, the onlooker *par excellence*, Anne Clifford, the *grande dame*, John Taylor, the link between wandering minstrel and roving free-lance reporter, and Oliver Heywood, the Yorkshire Wesley of his day—each of them presenting a characteristic facet of the 'Englishness' of England then and (*mutatis mutandis*) ever since.

The unerring feel for character and atmosphere is such as could only come to one almost as much at home in the seventeenth century as in the twentieth and in old England as in New: his mellow and humane reflections on life in general speak the historian *ad unguem factus*, irrespective of period or country. Naturally he is most at his ease in metropolitan England, but he can also make us breathe the air of the great country house or the Yorkshire moorland village—though he cannot always keep pace with the ubiquitous Taylor: the reader may have some trouble, for example, in recognizing the important seventeenth-century port of Beaumaris under the heavy disguise of 'Newmaris'. Still more surprising is it to find Shrove Tuesday identified as 'the end of Lent'—a gloss which might have shocked even so sturdy a scorner of tradition as Oliver Heywood, and which proclaims an upbringing north of the Mason-Dixon line. But these are no more than Homeric nods in a wide-awake narrative full of wise saws and artfully-concealed learning, and revealing the writer as a man of the seventeenth century in yet another of its distinctive traits: the art of character-writing.

University College, Bangor

A. H. DODD

THE COMMITTEE AT STAFFORD 1643-1645. Edited by D. H. Pennington and I. A. Roots. Manchester University Press and Staffordshire Record Society. 1957. lxxxiii + 389 pp. 55s.

THE COUNTY COMMITTEE OF KENT IN THE CIVIL WAR. By A. M. Everitt. University of Leicester. 1957. 54 pp. 10s. 6d.

These two admirable studies fill a serious gap in English administrative

history, and suggest how far large problems concerning the social and political significance of the Civil War may yield to intensive research into local affairs. The County Committees, which developed through Pym's untidy ordinances out of the existing authority of the deputy lieutenants, bore an immense responsibility for finance, defence, security, and a host of other duties arising out of the war. Their story holds many clues to the relations between the parliamentary gentry, especially to the rifts which opened among them during and after the fighting. Yet apart from the contributions of C. H. Mayo for Dorset and Professor A. H. Dodd for Wales, little has been written about them; Gardiner barely mentioned their existence.

Most of their records have perished, but in 1949 the finest surviving example, a 422-page Order Book of the Staffordshire Committee running from December 1643 to May 1645, was acquired by the William Salt Library. Mr. Pennington and Mr. Roots now offer a model edition of its full text, with appendices to illustrate the Committee's finances (and its quarrels) and biographical notes on all its members. Their long Introduction will be read by every serious student of the period, not only for its mastery of administrative detail and its account of the war's impact on the local community, but for its light on many vexed questions relating to the general nature of the English revolution. The same may be said of Mr. Everitt's paper; he shows a similar awareness, and his writing is taut and vivid. His sources include nothing like the Stafford Order Book, but he has wrung from the surviving local and national records a convincing picture of the Kent Committee's activities and dissensions.

Both works indeed illumine more topics than can be mentioned here. On finance, both have made the ill-sorted bulk of Commonwealth Exchequer Papers yield much well-ordered information. As for current theories of social causation, Messrs. Pennington and Roots find they can draw no clear line of economic interest or social status between the Staffordshire royalists and parliamentarians, and that 'neither the demonstrably rising nor the demonstrably declining gentry were wholeheartedly for one side or the other'. Mr. Everitt presumably will publish his findings on these questions elsewhere; but it is already clear, both in Staffordshire and Kent, that whereas in 1642-3 the great county families still dominated the scene, the war and its aftermath gradually brought lesser men to the fore—gentry still, but of parochial rather than county prestige. In both shires the general temper at the outbreak of war was moderate, and more concerned with county than with national interests; indeed Staffordshire, like half a dozen other counties, made a bid for local neutrality. But in both places a quarrel between leading personalities furthered a division of the gentry into moderate and extremist factions, with the latter supported mainly by the parochial squires and gradually gaining the ascendancy—an ascendancy confirmed in Kent when the rebellion of 1648 revealed how far the moderates had become imbued with royalism. Despite certain common trends, however, one is struck by the diversity in practice between the two Committees, units though they were in a theoretically uniform national system. We want to know more about other counties, and it can only be hoped that two such rewarding studies will prompt others on the same lines.

University of Leeds

A. H. WOOLRYCH

THE ROYALISTS DURING THE PURITAN REVOLUTION. By P. H. Hardacre.

The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff (distributed in Great Britain by B. T. Batsford). 1956. xiv + 185 pp. 25s.

Using a wide range of printed sources, Mr. Hardacre deals with the formation of the royalist party in 1642-3, the royalists' tribulations in the Civil War and after, under the Long Parliament, the Commonwealth and the Protectorate, and their part in the Restoration settlement. He is at his best in describing the changing attitudes of the Roman Catholics to successive regimes, showing that they were far from being one hundred per cent militant royalists throughout, as is sometimes supposed. Mr. Hardacre explains 'emphasis throughout has been on the economic and social conditions of the royalists'. It is here that criticism must begin, for the study is based mainly on printed authorities and it is to be feared that the author has set himself an impossible task. Until more use has been made of the official and private manuscript sources to estimate the effects of composition fines, penal taxation and land sales, whether voluntary or forced, it is simply not possible to write an adequate history of 'the economic and social conditions of the royalists.' There are other questions perhaps equally difficult to tackle from printed sources alone. Mr. Hardacre scarcely attempts a social analysis of the king's supporters below the peerage, apart from one interesting but isolated paragraph about Gloucestershire royalists. Nor does he give enough attention to the political divisions on the royalist side, for example, between the pre-1641 courtiers and supporters of the personal government, and the new Cavaliers of 1641 and later (Hyde, Falkland, Culpeper, etc.). Finally, to speak of royalist 'party members' is surely to beg another big question, namely in what sense there was a royalist 'party'. A few mistakes of detail are present: there were more than eighteen known, or commonly suspected, Catholic peers in 1642 (p. 53); Tiverton is not in Dorset (p. 124); Viscount Saye and Seale was almost certainly *not* made Lord Privy Seal at the Restoration (p. 147)—Lord Roberts, or Robartes, held this office by May 1661; in 1660 the Earl of Manchester, as Lord Chamberlain, was head of the Household *above*, and not below, stairs (p. 147)—Ormond had charge below stairs, as Lord Steward. However, granted the limitations inevitably set by the author's sources and by the questions he has asked of them, this is a useful and fair-minded survey. It is not, and probably could not have been, a major addition to seventeenth-century studies.

University of Manchester

G. E. AYLMER

PURITANISM IN OLD AND NEW ENGLAND. By Alan Simpson. University of Chicago Press: Cambridge University Press. 1956. 126 pp. 22s. 6d.

Unlike most books on the subject, Mr. Simpson's six lectures are short and do not take Puritanism as solemnly as it took itself. Not being a Marxist, or even a follower of that 'Harrington in modern dress' Professor Tawney, he examines its origins largely in its own religious terms. But he emphasizes the contradictions those terms produced: the rebellious elect went on rebelling, even against their own puritan states, and they never defined satisfactorily the rôle of the unregenerate majority. The problems of the New England 'covenanted communities' and of the fugitives from them in Rhode Island show one set of obstacles to the stable rule of saints. In America those who were moved to separate from the new orthodoxy as they had from the

old could colonize afresh; in England they had to fight for survival, and their zeal produced the fifteen years of conflict that followed the Parliamentary victory. Mr. Simpson offers a clear interpretation of the origins of the Civil War. Religion, he agrees with Cromwell, was not the thing at first contested for. Puritans of the various kinds seized the opportunities that the constitutional revolt of the gentry had given them, and with prayers and tears led it through the successive failures of government to the final collapse, where only repentance and the Restoration remained. The questions to which all this constantly leads concern the relationship between religious enthusiasm and the craving for power. A call to establish God's kingdom on earth could be an excellent disguise for the natural man's desire to rule. The subject is often touched upon; but even in the pages on Cromwell its contradictions and self-deceptions are not analysed far enough. Nevertheless the book is perceptive and lively: it can be commended to all who find puritans 'right but repulsive' and religion the greatest barrier between our generation and a sympathetic understanding of the seventeenth century.

University of Manchester

D. H. PENNINGTON

Miss Jane Lang in *REBUILDING ST. PAUL'S AFTER THE GREAT FIRE OF LONDON* (London: O.U.P. 1956. xi + 269 pp. 42s.) draws mainly on the mass of original material published by the Wren Society in 1924-43, supplemented by the pamphlets of 1712-13 making and rebutting charges of fraud and mismanagement. The old cathedral had been seriously damaged by lightning in 1561. At the Restoration it was a vast pile built in the taste of earlier centuries, and, despite costly repairs in the reigns of Elizabeth and Charles I, in urgent need of major rebuilding. Its destruction in 1666 made possible a new cathedral, if money could be found to pay for it, and the King, men of taste and the clergy could agree on the form it should take. Delay might have been almost indefinite, but the choice of Wren as architect and Parliament's provision of a small tax on the coal brought into London solved the two worst problems. Even so, the foundation stone could not be laid until 1675 and Wren was seventy-six before the great stone lantern above the dome was finished, ninety-one before, in 1723, the last details were complete.

Miss Lang shows the interplay of architect and building commissioners, the consistent help of the higher clergy and the difficulties when aggressive Whigs sought to dictate to the architect. She stresses the importance of royal favour, the evolution of the final design and the effect of outside events on the progress of the building. Supplies for so great a project had to be organized far in advance. War and the press gang could delay the ships with stone, the coals from which most of the money came, or the provision of the great oaken beams for the dome. Dispute with the islanders at Portland and a landslip blocking its harbour halted everything dependent on so major a building material.

The great craftsmen's share in the work is already known. Cibber, Gibbons, Tijou, Bird worked there, as in many other places, but the author in showing the care Wren lavished on the building shows also how lesser men spent their working lives on it and how, by the end, sons of some of the original contractors were continuing where their fathers had left off. For her the cathedral and Wren's share in it are all-important. It is history, with that in the foreground, not a study in comparative architecture, or an assessment of church

politics. Her tale is graphic and stimulating. The ordinary reader will enjoy it and the teacher will enjoy learning from it. No effort is made to show that Wren was working on many other buildings or that much research remains to be done. The narrative is extracted from the documents, the publishers have presented it with excellent illustrations and pre-war lavishness, and few will be ungrateful.

University College, London

T. F. REDDAWAY

THE HIGH CHURCH PARTY 1688-1718. By George Every, S.S.M. London: Church Historical Society, S.P.C.K. 1956. xv + 195 pp. 30s.

This book deals with a period of great importance in English political history. Bro. Every maintains that it was also one of consequence in English religious history. The final collapse in 1689 of the Tudor conception of the Church-State, the abandonment by the government of the attempt to make membership of the national Church obligatory upon all subjects of the Crown, resulted in more than toleration of dissenters, lapsing of the censorship of the press and decline of the power of the spiritual courts. It resulted in the emergence of party divisions within the Church. Though inherent a century before, this period saw the clear division between High and Low Church parties.

As for the conclusions to be drawn from the story of these years, Mr. Every shows how the High Churchmen made the doctrine of the apostolic succession their central tenet. It was, he states, an inheritance from their patristic studies; but it was only natural that the clergy, at a time when dissent was tolerated and unbelief appearing, should have emphasized the divine nature of their orders. He shows how this belief developed further precision in attempts to heal the schism between Non-jurors and Jurors, and again in 1707 when the hope of Scottish episcopacy vanished with the securities given to the Presbyterian Church in the Act of Union. The future, however, did not lie with the High Church party. John Wesley was preoccupied with the idea of personal holiness, and for Methodists and Evangelicals the traditions and discipline valued by the High Churchmen seemed irrelevant and meaningless.

Mr. Every tells the story of this formative period in the history of the Church of England with careful detail. He describes the struggles in and out of Convocation on the attitude to heresy and schism, intercommunion, excommunication, heretical books, schismatic sacraments and the restoration of discipline. He has made a study of polemical books and tracts, and is the first to have critically examined the Prayer Book used in the proposed revision of 1689. His book will be essential for the study of the period. It is a work of history, not hagiology, though it would have been welcome to have found Bishop Wilson mentioned without the inevitable accompanying adjective—'saintly'.

College of St. Mark and St. John, London

L. W. COWIE

THE WILLIAMITE CONFISCATION IN IRELAND, 1690-1703. By J. G. Simms. London: Faber. 1956. 207 pp. 25s.

This admirably dispassionate survey at last places one of the contentious problems in which Irish history abounds on a firm basis of facts and statistics. It is now possible to see the confiscation of Irish land after the Jacobite war in its proper perspective, and it turns out to have been less complete

than might have been expected, and than some Protestant contemporaries hoped. The area of land owned by Catholics, which had been reduced from 59 per cent to 22 per cent of Ireland by the Cromwellian and restoration settlements, was now reduced only to 14 per cent, and it was left to the unremitting pressure of the penal laws in the eighteenth century to induce most of the remaining Catholic landowners to conform to the established church. The main reason for the comparative mildness of the government's forfeiture policy lay in the need to bring its Irish war to an early end in order to free English resources for action against Louis XIV. Almost half of the land retained by Catholics came under the articles of Limerick and Galway, and the omission of the celebrated clause from the former treaty seems to have made little practical difference.

Some Catholic claimants were also helped by the results of the Act of Resumption, when the English House of Commons expressed its anger against William's grants, especially to Bentinck, Keppel and Elizabeth Villiers, who between them had been given about two-fifths of the total land confiscated, or over 300,000 acres. The stormy debates at Westminster are briefly described, but the author's main concern is naturally with Irish land ownership rather than English party history. He has successfully answered the questions he has set himself, and illustrated his answers with many detailed examples of the fortunes of different families from sources unused or not properly used until now.

University of Sheffield

K. H. D. HALEY

F. E. Halliday has made an interesting attempt to put SHAKESPEARE IN HIS AGE (London: Duckworth. 1956. xvi + 362 pp. 30s.) by considering both cultural and political aspects of the late Elizabethan and early Jacobean periods. In his rather sweeping historical assertions, he is sometimes seriously at fault; but, that apart, this well-written and wide-ranging book, with many illustrations, is a useful companion to political and literary studies of the age. Mme Ghislaine de Boom has written a short, sound and useful biography of Charles V's sister and regent of the Netherlands, MARIE DE HONGRIE (Brussels: La Renaissance du livre. 1956. 132 pp.), which is of especial interest on economic and political aspects of the Low Countries. Professor L. E. Halkin's LA RÉFORME EN BELGIQUE SOUS CHARLES QUINT (*ibid.* 1957. 133 pp.) is presented with brief and admirable clarity, and is particularly valuable on the anabaptists, of whom, the author estimates, 1,000 gave their lives for their faith in the period 1523-55; they constituted seventy per cent of Netherlands martyrs in the sixteenth century. Both volumes have scholarly bibliographies.

In JOHN LOCKE AND THE WAY OF IDEAS (Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1956. x + 235 pp. 30s.) Mr. J. W. Yolton discusses Locke's influence on the religious and moral controversies of his own day. He shows that Lockean epistemology was taken up by two sets of thinkers of rather divergent interest: by the radical opponents of all revealed religion (the Deists) and by a liberal group of traditionalists who favoured the simplification of religious pre-suppositions (Witty, Gastrell, Oldfield). In following out this story in detail, Mr. Yolton makes a valuable contribution to a rewarding area of study.

LATER MODERN

FORESTS AND FRENCH SEA POWER, 1660-1789. By Paul Walden Bamford.

Toronto University Press. London: O.U.P. 1956. ix + 240 pp. 40s.

Dr. Bamford's excellent companion study to Albion's *Forests and Sea Power* makes a useful contribution to the study of naval history as a social phenomenon whose implications reach far beyond the niceties of strategy and the comparative merits of rival admirals. His subject has hitherto been virtually unexplored and if he claims to have done no more than to offer a 'provisional map' of his territory, his judicious and lucid summary will provide most readers with all the information that they require, besides facilitating the research of the specialist. His bibliography is excellent, especially with regard to the manuscript sources.

After surveying French forest legislation from Colbert to the Revolution, Mr. Bamford reveals how the Monarchy's inability to enforce this forest code led to the depletion of French woodland in the eighteenth century, which eventually obliged the navy to seek a considerable proportion of its ship-timber in foreign markets. Both here and in his survey of contracts for the provision and transport of timber, Mr. Bamford provides a good deal of information for the social and economic historian. With regard to the supply of masts and spars, France, like Britain, depended largely on the Baltic market, domestic masts proving unsatisfactory and naval conservatism failing to exploit the potentialities of French Canada. The accident of geography combined with the customary superiority of the British fleet to close the Baltic to French shipping during wars between England and France, thereby placing the French navy at a disadvantage which became more marked with every season's campaigning. The American Revolution opened up a new source of potential supply, within the limits imposed by British naval activity in the Atlantic, but once again the conservatism of the naval authorities prevented the full exploitation of the new possibilities during the last years of the ancien régime. An interesting attempt to import Ukrainian masts through the Black Sea also produced disappointing results and the advent of the Revolutionary and Napoleonic wars found the French still primarily dependent on the Baltic.

Mr. Bamford has some interesting observations to make on the general relationship between the navy and French foreign policy. Besides illustrating the failure to accumulate in peace time adequate reserves of timber, he shows how bad relations with Russia put French merchants at a disadvantage in the mast-market at Riga. It is to be regretted that he was unable to devote rather more attention to naval policy in general. His initial chapter on 'Dynastic Policy and French Maritime Power' is too short to satisfy the interest that it arouses: to deal with so wide a subject in seven pages is of necessity to limit oneself to generalities. Mr. Bamford's logistic perspective leads him perhaps to underestimate the extent to which timber stocks reflected policy as well as determining it. The abundance of supplies in the years of financial stringency that preceded the Revolution appears less surprising in view of the decision of de Castries in 1786 by which two-ninths of the fleet 'n'existerait qu'en approvisionnement'. But if Mr. Bamford has not attempted a comprehensive account of the evolution of French sea power

from Louis XIV to the Revolution, he has provided some of the vital evidence on which any such account must be based.

University of Manchester

NORMAN HAMPSON

HENRY NEWMAN, AN AMERICAN IN LONDON, 1708-1743. By Leonard M. Cowie. London: S.P.C.K. 1956. 272 pp. 30s.

In this scholarly study Dr. Cowie has given a valuable account of one of 'the men of goodwill and capacity' who, in the earlier eighteenth century, encouraged the spread of religion, popular education, and humanitarianism. Born in Massachusetts in 1670, Newman spent a few years as a merchant trading between Boston, Newfoundland and Europe, entered (c. 1703) the service of Charles Seymour, sixth Duke of Somerset, and settled permanently in England. In 1708, having left Somerset's service, he was given the post of secretary to the S.P.C.K. which he held until his death in 1743. Between 1712 and 1715 he was also secretary to a group formed to combat the spread of Roman Catholicism and Jacobitism; later he became secretary to the Commissioners for relieving poor proselytes. In these capacities, his work ranged over religious publishing, charity schools, East India missions, American libraries, and the settlement of German Protestant refugees in the new colony of Georgia. In addition, he was for many years colonial agent for New Hampshire. Much survives of the considerable correspondence in which Newman was involved by these diverse responsibilities, and Dr. Cowie has made good use of his letters to present the picture of his personality and his activities. Individual activity is rebuffed by governmental inertia: Walpole's reluctance to sanction any extra expenditure and his *laissez faire* attitude towards colonial affairs are here seen from the viewpoint of the discouraged and disappointed applicant. Newman himself emerges in the round, as a pleasant, shrewd, businesslike individual, the soul of charity and kindness. The human background against which he moves remains, however, in shadow.

University College, London

IAN R. CHRISTIE

WILTSHIRE QUARTER SESSIONS AND ASSIZES, 1736. Edited by J. P. M. Fowle. Devizes: Wiltshire Archæological Society, Records Branch, vol. xi. 1955. 213 pp. 30s.

This volume offers a new approach to the publication of Quarter Sessions papers. The bulk of these records for the eighteenth century makes them too expensive to publish complete, and in any case they are too repetitive for the effort to be worthwhile. Mr. Fowle, a former assistant archivist in the Wiltshire County Record Office, dismisses, perhaps too readily, the value of an intelligent selection from the mass, and has produced as a sample a complete calendar of Quarter Sessions and Assize records for the arbitrarily chosen year, 1736, prefaced by an elaborate account of the Quarter Sessions archives as a whole. The calendar itself is inevitably something less than a torso, with its dozens of cases of assault, petty theft, and presentation of highways, with which every student of the period is familiar, and the fragments of real administrative history, neither the form nor substance of which is related by the editor to its context. The physiognomy of local government in the eighteenth century will not come to life until the special features of the work

and structure of government in the different counties are studied and documented. The fact that it is no longer the duty of the editor of Quarter Sessions records to publish, or even calendar, everything, is illustrated by Appendix I in this volume 'added for the administrative historian'. It includes a complete list of J.P.s for the county in 1736, but does not indicate the only men who mattered, the acting justices. Nevertheless the book explains and illustrates many technical procedures of the court, takes the reader through one complete cycle of its operations and prompts him to make what comparisons he can with the published records of other counties and other periods.

University of Manchester

W. R. WARD

THE RISE OF THE PELHAMS. By John B. Owen. London: Methuen. 1957. 357 pp. 30s.

Dr. Owen's book is a detailed account of the politically confused period between the fall of Walpole and the firm establishment of the Pelhams in power, following the abortive attempt by George II to replace them by a ministry under Lords Bath and Carteret in 1746. It is the latest example of the kind of parliamentary history based on detailed study and analysis of the biographies of individual members which has become associated with the name of Sir Lewis Namier; and its minute and meticulous scholarship makes it a worthy addition to this school.

Dr. Owen analyses the various groups within the parliament of 1741-7: the 'Old Corps' Whigs, who had supported Walpole and in general continued to support the government which succeeded him; the followers of Frederick, Prince of Wales, supporting now the ministry, now the Opposition, according to the state of the Prince's relations with his father; the 'New Whigs', supporters of Pulteney and Carteret; the 'Cobham Cubs'; the Opposition Scots grouped around the Duke of Argyll; and finally the Tories, about whom he has some interesting things to say. He does not subscribe to the view that in the politics of this period the terms Whig and Tory have no meaning, and that there were in fact no Tories, only different kinds of Whigs. On the contrary, he considers that the Tories in parliament had certain quite distinct characteristics, whereas the Whigs were merely men who were 'not Tories'. The characteristics which he regards as typically Tory do not include Jacobitism, by now held by a mere handful, and even by them more for tradition's sake than because they had any real belief in it; but they include Tory lineage, a habit of persistent opposition to the ministry, a disregard for pensions and places in the central government, coupled with a desire for more power in local government, where their real centre of gravity lay. The Tories, in fact, were confirmed back-benchers, with no wish to be anything else, and this is the most striking difference between them and the different groups of Whigs.

Dr. Owen has some illuminating things to say about the wider aspects of the constitutional history of the time, and his book is much more than a study of the personnel of the parliament of 1741. He stresses the danger of overestimating the importance of patronage in eighteenth-century parliaments, and thus underestimating the importance of other factors, such as debating power in a House of Commons containing a large body of independent members who would vote according to their view of a particular

question, whose votes could not be bought but whose opinions might well be swayed by argument. He disposes of the popular picture of George II as a 'King in toils', imprisoned by the Pelhams and their associates, greedy for power. The appearance of being 'in toils' was in fact largely created by the pig-headedness of George II himself, who refused to recognize, until forced to do so by humiliating failure, that while parliament had no wish to dictate to him whom he should appoint as ministers, they could and would at times insist that there were certain individuals—Walpole, for instance, and later Carteret—whom he must *not* appoint. The preliminary chapter on the fall of Walpole is one of the most interesting in the book. While accepting the oft-repeated statement of Walpole's importance as a 'parliament man', Dr. Owen suggests that overemphasis on this has led to an underemphasis of Walpole as a 'King's man'. Walpole's real strength lay—as did Pelham's later—in the fact that he was the link between the Royal Closet and the House of Commons without which no government after 1689 could really succeed; a position which could not really be satisfactorily filled by a peer. Contemporaries were slow to recognize this and hence the slow development of the office of 'Prime Minister'.

This is an important book; and though it is rather a formidable assignment for the reader, it has worth-while rewards for the stout-hearted who do not quail before its wealth of minute detail.

University of Birmingham

MARY RANSOME

AS THE LIFE OF LADY MARY WORTLEY MONTAGUE by Robert Halsband (Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1956. xiii + 313 pp. 30s.) shows, Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, the authoress of the 'Embassy Letters' and the popularizer of inoculation against small-pox, was no ordinary member of the high aristocratic society into which she was born. The young girl who hid from her governess to teach herself Latin; the woman who, as wife of the British ambassador to the Sublime Porte, studied the life and language of the Turkish people, roaming the streets of Constantinople in the anonymous security of eastern robe and veil; the friend of Lord Hervey and the patroness (and later the enemy) of Pope, was a person of exceptional enterprise and intellect. Mr. Halsband has made a scholarly examination of manuscripts and contemporary printed sources, unearthing, among other discoveries, documents which furnish the explanation of Lady Mary's long self-exile on the Continent; and he has drawn with penetration the portrait of a complex and fascinating personality.

University College, London

I. R. CHRISTIE

LETTERS OF SPENCER COWPER, DEAN OF DURHAM, 1746-74. Ed. by

Edward Hughes. The Surtees Society. Vol XLV. 1956. xv + 224 pp. Spencer Cowper became Dean of Durham in 1746. There are in this book two hundred and thirty one letters, with few exceptions addressed by Spencer Cowper to his elder brother the second Earl Cowper. These letters have the delightful familiarity, easy humour, and pleasant miscellaneousness of a correspondence between intimates. Letters from Oxford reveal the temper in which Spencer received ordination, not frivolously, but as of necessity, the reluctant refuge of an unmarried younger son. 'The Gown is the last resort.' Marriage was no answer, for 'how few Fortunes are there

worth a younger Brother's acceptance that w'd not bring more plagues along with [them] than even Pandora's Box was fill'd with?' He could not bear a place at court, especially as there was 'nothing to be done without a seat in Parliament'. Even the Church had its disadvantages, no bishopric to be got without 'entire submission to Command'. In spite of all this, Spencer Cowper had genuine piety, though he was not at all a natural ecclesiastic, and certainly no high churchman.

There is a short series of interesting letters at the time of the '45, with references to the frequent fears of French invasion and the behaviour of the Quakers, who since they could not fight, but wished General Wade to win, 'designed to present the whole army with Flannel Waste Coats'. There are reports also of election proceedings at Reading in 1747; and at Durham in 1761 of that interesting City election which led to the 'Durham Act' of 1763, to restrict the use of honorary freemen as voters in parliamentary elections. Finally, there is prompt reflection in these letters of two historical legends which became part of the political armoury of Whigs of certain sorts. In 1747 King George II appears as only able to show such favour as he would to Lord Cowper 'if his Lds and Masters would let him'. In 1752 the cry is raised that the future George III is to be brought up under Jacobite influence. 'It is now a step to Ecclesiastical preferment to be a Jacobite, and deserve hanging.' Apart from a joking reference to Bishop Berkeley's dissipation of matter, in none of these letters is there reference (at least at all directly) to contemporary learning, in theology, philosophy, or history, but there is much about the loaves and fishes, especially of the Church, mixed with much kindly observation of persons and places. The letters have clearly been most carefully edited by Professor Hughes, and the text is pleasantly produced.

Bedford College, London

R. W. GREAVES

THE MORAL BASIS OF BURKE'S POLITICAL THOUGHT. By Charles Parkin. Cambridge University Press. 1956. 145 pp. 12s. 6d.

It has often been said that political theory is by its very nature so closely related to the situation in which it originates that no significant account of the political thought of any of the great masters can be given without its being at the same time a partial history of the intellectual atmosphere and the political events of the time. And this might be held to apply with especial force to Burke who never settled down to compose a treatise in the manner of Hobbes or Locke or Mill but had his ideas drawn out of him in the course of facing practical political problems. Yet Mr. Parkin, who provides no biographical details and sketches no historical background, has produced an excellent account of Burke's thought, admirably compact, clearly stamped with the mark of scholarship and quite able to stand by itself as an interpretation of the ideas of one of the most influential political thinkers in our history. His main contention is that in the various speeches and writings with which Burke reacted to the crises of his day one can find 'the expression of a coherent moral philosophy of man and community' and that 'Burke's ideas converge on a core of moral certainty freed finally from the relative and contingent'.

When Burke opposed the French Revolution, says Mr. Parkin, he was not just denouncing revolution as such. What he was mainly concerned to condemn was the false moral basis from which the revolutionaries moved, their

dogmatic adherence to abstract moral ideals and their conception of man as a perfectible being. For Burke, on the other hand, the social order was infinitely complex and to its diverse situations one could not bring abstract principles without risk of disaster. Man was eternally destined to live with evil along with the good. Hence, since general principles of morality only find their meaning (though not their origin) in the concreteness of this life, the French addiction to abstract theory was really a form of laziness, 'an impatience with the complexity of things which emerges as wilfulness'. Morality, according to Burke, belonged to the timeless order of things, only dimly perceived by man, it was true, but nevertheless real. It is in the course of history that we become aware of the injunctions of this eternal standard as they are disclosed in the actual institutions of social life. Thus, to set up our own sense of convenience or a set of *a priori* rules as principles of action is to repudiate the higher order of things and at the same time to magnify out of all proportion man's true importance. 'The impious assumption of a moral autonomy in man', says Mr. Parkin, 'which denies the source of morality itself, is in Burke's eyes the motive power behind the whole Revolutionary movement, and constitutes its chief crime.' So Mr. Parkin, in claiming for Burke a consistently held moral attitude in terms of which his various specific reactions are to be understood, denies the charge that he was a mere empiricist with no steady principles to call on. Now, to this sort of case that can be made out for Burke—and Mr. Parkin's is by far the most effective I know of—there is a set of oft-argued objections. Most theories of a transcendent moral order, it is alleged, are either so highly abstract that no specific injunctions can be derived from them or, where they are specific, provide no means of how to decide, in the event of such disagreements as invariably arise, who has privileged access to the eternal scheme of values. This, however, would be to join issue with Burke and perhaps not with Mr. Parkin. To him we are indebted for a most useful and stimulating book.

University College, Swansea

J. C. REES

DU PONT DE NEMOURS, SOLDAT DE LA LIBERTÉ. By Pierre Jolly. Paris: Presses Universitaires. 1956. 305 pp. 1000 fr.

The best that can be said of this book, written in a lively, almost colloquial style, is that it supplements the old biographies by Schelle, Aimé, and others with the results of recent research. The author has read through a great deal of new material which he quotes liberally, though unfortunately without precise references. Practically all of this new material, such as the interesting detail of Dupont's part in the founding of the American chemical company of that name, bears upon the later part of Dupont's life from the 1790's to his death in the U.S.A. in 1817. His life during the ancien régime is passed over in less than a third of the book. Although critical of his sources, M. Jolly is quite uncritical of his subject and appears to share Dupont's prejudices, even down to his view of himself. Thus Dupont appears only in one dimension, a Physiocrat persistently enlightening a world of rogues and fools, offering advice to everyone on all subjects. Dupont, like Jolly, might well have written that the fiscal régime instituted by the Constituent Assembly and which endured in its essentials until 1914, 'consacre, pour une large part, le triomphe de l'évangile physiocratique'. Dupont, like Jolly, would have accounted for the fall of a Controller-General by saying: 'D'Ormesson . . . n'est pas de

taille à se mesurer avec la situation financière'. But not even Dupont would have repeated the old legends that he prepared the customs reform project for the Assembly of Notables, or that his colleague, Edouard Boyetet, was his subordinate.

King's College, London

JOHN BOSHER

TRAFALGAR: NAPOLEON'S NAVAL WATERLOO. By René Maine. London:

Thames and Hudson. 1957. 261 pp. 21s.

This is a lively book, giving a spirited overall account of the Trafalgar campaign and battle. But it is not serious history. The author views the scene from both sides, with the French view somewhat preponderating. Here he relies largely on Colonel Desbrières, a first-rate authority, and his quotations from Napoleon's correspondence with his minister Decrès and his admirals will be found useful. But, on the British side, the book's value is much more limited. Here there is some very odd history: indeed, the author seems unfamiliar with most of the more modern English works, and, perhaps for that reason, inclined to leap to the most curious conclusions. Throughout, too, there are sad lapses in sheer fact and a regrettable number of rather elementary mistakes, some of which seem to stem from unfamiliarity with sailing-ship warfare. Thus ships are made to sail past each other on parallel courses and to 'rake' each other in passing—a contradiction in terms, for one ship could only 'rake' another by passing across her stern or bow. And what of this? 'The north-west wind freshened, and the combined force had to run west-north-west.' *If* Villeneuve could make a sailing fleet do this, he was more than a seaman: he was a wizard!

MICHAEL LEWIS

LORD WILLIAM BENTINCK AND THE BRITISH OCCUPATION OF SICILY 1811-1814. By John Rosselli. Cambridge University Press. 1956. 220 pp. 30s.

THE BOURBONS OF NAPLES (1734-1825). By Harold Acton. London: Methuen. 1956. xviii + 731 pp. 50s.

The mission of Lord William Bentinck to Sicily had many repercussions, among them a long-lived belief that British governments cherished designs for the annexation of the island. Because Metternich feared him and Castlereagh thought him a firebrand, he failed; because he failed, he is often dismissed as merely a Whig eccentric. His conduct is now more comprehensible against the background of Sicilian affairs which Mr. Rosselli describes in his book. Far from being doctrinaire, Bentinck's record in Sicily seems even moderate and judicious. While he was supported by his government, his mission to look after English interests at the Sicilian court led him to make use of the very disparate elements which were for a moment brought together in the Sicilian constitutional movement. This coincided with his own hopes that a Sicilian example would inspire Italian nationalist feeling, but when the Constitution would not work, he was prepared to do without it and, for a moment, to dream of an English annexation. His earlier courses committed him, but he showed a certain flexibility, with which he was not to be credited, when the necessities of a pro-Austrian policy in Italy led to his recall.

Mr. Rosselli's book does not contain much that is new, but it is a careful

and expert delineation of the development of Bentinck's views while he was in Sicily, and of the pressures which formed them. It is based mainly on the diplomatic records, the Bentinck papers at the University of London, and the archives at Palermo. The newly accessible Bourbon papers at Naples seem unlikely to change the picture save in its details. No criticism can be directed against Mr. Rosselli's use of his materials; indeed, the only dissatisfaction which the book arouses is a wish that it were longer. Mr. Rosselli has ruthlessly pruned away the inessentials from his story. On many points the reader is left—with some aid from bibliographical signposts—to find his way in the background for himself. Those who do not know the period may be confused by this elegant and economical study. The forty-two pages of notes at the end of the book go some way towards meeting their needs, but the bulk of material in these pages might be more suitably incorporated in the text, and the references in conventional footnotes. Occasional errors apart, the printing is good; but it is alarming that a great university press should have to go to Holland to find printing of this standard.

Mr. Harold Acton's new book surveys the Neapolitan monarchy under Charles IV and Ferdinand I. The choice of material, both printed and manuscript, has been shaped by the author's taste for picturesque and evocative detail, and by a conviction that for far too long the Bourbons have been the victims of unanswered libels by liberal historians. The result is enjoyable; the great merit of the book is that it has been written by an enthusiast soaked in Neapolitan tradition and lore. But it will not be of great value to the professional historian. The general reader will like it, and the school librarian will find it a useful stopgap in an area where the English bibliography is poor. It contains much curious and pleasing information and is dominated by a striking characterization of Maria Carolina. But she, like her husband and her father-in-law, obscures the background against which she stands. There is little about the history of Naples to be learnt from this book save scandal about 'liberal historians'. The criticism may be unjust; Mr. Acton has, after all, defined his subject in his title. When he moves away from it his touch is less sure: 'parliament' is a misleading translation of *parlement*, Lahoz was a Mantuan, and the Cisalpine soldiers on p. 494 were by then soldiers of the Italian Republic. These are minor blemishes in an enjoyable book.

Merton College, Oxford

JOHN M. ROBERTS

ANDREW SMITH AND NATAL. Documents relating to the early history of that province. Selected, edited and annotated by Percival R. Kirby. Cape Town: Van Riebeeck Society. 1956. 253 pp. 28s.

This interesting collection of documents provides some of the raw material for the early history of Natal and throws into relief the part played by Dr. Andrew Smith in the founding of a British colony there. Linked by short editorial comments, the documents are divided into three parts. First come the notes made by Smith during his mission in 1832 to Dingane, King of the Zulus, to find out his attitude to white settlement and to report to the Cape Government on the possibilities of the country. There are some striking passages about Dingane and the Zulus and about other tribes through whose territory Smith passed. Difficulties of travel without maps and in cumbrous ox-wagons are vividly recounted. Also in this section are details

of the route Smith took which became standard for many years. As a result of this mission—a full report, if it was ever written, has not come to light—merchants at the Cape petitioned for the establishment of a colony in Natal; and this document and related papers make up the second part of the collection. For the time being the British government ignored the merchants' appeal, but they continued to demand their object. In 1838 the South African Land and Emigration Association was formed in London, and the record of its activities, which constitutes the third part of this volume, shows the English counterpart to pressure from merchants at the Cape. It was not until 1842 that the British government decided to found a colony in Natal and Smith's part was acknowledged when the first lieutenant-governorship was offered to him, though he declined it. Students of this period of South African history will be grateful to Professor Kirby for his skilful editorship and his careful collation of hitherto unpublished material.

University of Exeter

FREDA WOLFSON

BRITISH SOCIAL WORK IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY. By A. F. Young and

E. T. Ashton. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul. 1956. vii + 264 pp. 25s. The authors have had the novel idea of writing, not another history of the social services or of social reform, but a study of the developing techniques and attitudes of those engaged in 'social work', defined as 'the personal efforts of individuals who assist those in distress or promote the welfare of those unsuccessful in promoting their own'. They have produced a clear, interesting and valuable account of the forerunners of our modern social workers in the last century—housing managers, almoners, probation officers, N.S.P.C.C. inspectors, settlement workers, and all the various specialists caring for the blind, deaf, crippled and mentally defective. The chapter on Dr. Thomas Chalmers establishes him as the creative pioneer in family case work; in his insistence upon close scrutiny of the individual case and his condemnation of the sentimental alms-giver—as also in his moralistic outlook and his easy assumption that the social stratification of nineteenth-century Britain was to be equated with the categories of nature—he clearly stands near the origin of the line of development which led to the Charity Organization Society in the next generation. The indomitable Octavia Hill gets the separate chapter she deserves, and the C.O.S. gets another. With the rebellion of Canon Barnett against the *de haut en bas* attitude of this school, a new note is heard: 'for the first time equality between social worker and client was regarded as a principle of social work'. The reactions of the most sceptical and acute 'lady rent collector' ever employed, Beatrice Webb, might also have been noted here. Nineteenth-century philanthropy begat numberless societies, voluntary, *ad hoc*, and usually short-lived, and obviously not all could find mention; one or two rather fine specimens, however, have been omitted—Capt. Brenton's Children's Friend Society (1833), for example, and the Manchester and Salford Ladies' Sanitary Reform Association (1862), which employed paid visitors to spread among working-class mothers the virtues of thrift, carbohic and regular attendance at church or chapel. There is a sprinkling of errors. It is not the fact, for example, that few Boards of Guardians employed paid workhouse teachers (by 1850, 604 Unions were employing 383 schoolmasters and 501 schoolmistresses); and the 'Ins and Outs' were not children removed from the workhouse schools by

their parents when old enough to earn, but pauper families ('revolvers') who oscillated between workhouse ward and the outside world according to the season and the prospects of employment. It does not appear from the text nor from the authorities they cite that the authors have tapped hitherto unused sources; and their neglect to furnish a 'Note on Sources'—surely an unfortunate omission in a work which claims to open up new ground—must leave the reader wondering what materials, published and unpublished, are available for documenting the history of the various philanthropic bodies they describe. Nevertheless, this is a useful work, a welcome first essay on an unfamiliar but significant theme.

University College, Bangor

R. A. LEWIS

L'INDUSTRIE TEXTILE AU TEMPS DU SECOND EMPIRE. By Claude Fohlen. Paris: Plon. 1956. 534 pp. 1500 fr.

UNE AFFAIRE DE FAMILLE AU XIX^e SIÈCLE: MÉQUILLET-NOBLOT. By Claude Fohlen. Cahiers de la Fondation Nationale des Sciences Politiques, No. 75. Paris: Armand Colin. 141 pp.

The first of these books is not as extensive as the title suggests; it deals mainly with the period from 1860 to 1870, and is concerned almost entirely with cotton. M. Fohlen has examined a great mass of documents but he has been disappointed in his hope of access to the papers of private firms, so important in an industry which was usually organized on a family basis; the notable exception to this secrecy was the Méquillet-Noblot firm, from Héricourt, whose archives form the basis of the second work. Apart from these the author has been forced to rely very largely on administrative documents, and on the evidence given by manufacturers in a number of enquiries, both official and private; such sources are of variable value but it might be said that Fohlen has treated some of the evidence with too much caution.

The absence of private documents is all the more noticeable on account of the method which has been adopted: the author presents the different groups of employers and discusses their mentality, contrasting in particular the Norman and the Alsatian. 'L'industrie est une affaire humaine au moins que technique et économique', he writes, and later, 'une industrie vaut ce que valent les hommes qui la dirigent'. Is one therefore to explain the slowness of France's industrial development in terms of the psychology of her capitalists? Other questions arise. How valid is the distinction between those who are 'industriels dans l'âme' and those who are 'avides de gagner de l'argent'? Is the refusal of certain manufacturers to modernize their methods of production, and the insistence of many manufacturers in the West on investing in land rather than in machinery, satisfactorily explained in terms of mentality? Is the Norman fear of 'un coup d'état douanier' the real reason for not re-equipping their establishments? It is obvious that economic conditions affected both the mentality and the actions of manufacturers; we are shown the difference of opinion regarding tariffs between those who exported, such as Jean Dollfuss, and those for whom the market was only national. It is a pity that the tableau of the employers is not accompanied by any corresponding picture of the textile proletariat, if only to follow up the link between wage movements and modernization, and there are other considerations which should be taken into account. Nevertheless, Monsieur Fohlen's discussion of this aspect of the textile industry is most stimulating.

His account of the crises of the 1860's is solidly documented and corrects many misconceptions as well as adding considerably to our knowledge. The famous 'famine de coton' can hardly be said to have existed; the effects of the 1860 treaty have been misrepresented; the crises are complex in their origins and developments, linking speculation and stock-piling, bad harvests and monetary policy.

Une affaire de famille au XIXe siècle is more disengaged from the documents, and this short account of a family business in the nineteenth century is extremely readable. One is tempted to say that it is more valuable to study a small firm throughout a long period, when that is possible, than to study a wide sector of the economy throughout a short period. Certainly here M. Fohlen is more definite and clear in his conclusions. His monograph is a model of its kind.

University of Birmingham

DOUGLAS JOHNSON

MANCHESTER MERCHANTS AND FOREIGN TRADE. Vol. II: 1850-1939. By

A. Redford. Manchester University Press. 1956. 307 pp. 30s.

With this volume Professor Redford completes his study of the activities of the Manchester Chamber of Commerce from its emergence under the strains and stresses of the French Wars of 1793-1815 to the point where a second period of war and war alarms was bringing havoc to Britain's economy. For the greater part of a century and a half Britain's life and prosperity had rested on her export trade, and a large proportion of that trade—at one time almost a half in value—had emanated from the cotton mills of Lancashire. In his first volume, published in 1934, Professor Redford had the struggle for Free Trade and the successful attack on the Corn Laws as the central points of his story: in his second, from the vantage point of 1956, he can portray a twentieth-century change in Lancashire's economic fortunes and in the policies of her commercial leaders even more fundamental and scarcely less dramatic than that of the preceding century. Until 1929 Lancashire—or at least its mouthpiece the Manchester Chamber—was still as heavily committed to a policy of free trade as in the days of Cobden. Then almost overnight came the great recantation, and before 1939 Lancashire had become more protectionist than the Government itself.

The interests of the Manchester Chamber were multifarious as befitted an organization at a nerve-centre of Britain's industrial and commercial life; they extended to the intricacies of the patent law, the provision of winter Assizes in Manchester and of an adequate local postal service, the railways and financial institutions of India and the negotiation of an international telegraph convention as well as to the more general fields of tariff policy and international commercial relations. Through all these complex and varied activities Professor Redford ploughs a steady furrow, turning up in the process material to interest not only a large company of economic historians but also students of diplomatic history and of the wider field of international affairs.

Inevitably Professor Redford's book prompts questions which it does not answer. What were the channels through which a Chamber of Commerce most effectively brought pressure to bear upon government and parliament? Did they change with the years? (One suspects that the approach via member of parliament to responsible minister gave place increasingly to the more direct and informal approach of Chamber official to civil servant.) How far

at different times did the Chamber—primarily representing the interests of merchants—speak with the authentic voice of Lancashire? (Here one may opine that in the 1920's at least, in its continuing defence of free trade, it had already ceased to do so.) Unanswered questions such as these, of course, commend Professor Redford's work rather than condemn it. It is a pioneer study, both informative and stimulating. One hopes it will, on the one hand, provoke comment and, if need be, criticism from those who have known the work of the Chamber at first hand, and, on the other, give rise to the study of other commercial institutions, some of which, like the Birmingham Chamber of Commerce, by no means always went the Manchester way.

University College, London

A. J. TAYLOR

AMERICA AND THE BRITISH LEFT, FROM BRIGHT TO BEVAN. By H. Pelling.

London: Black. 1956. 174 pp. 18s.

This is a useful book on an extremely difficult but important subject. Mr. Pelling sets out to show how the fund of radical goodwill towards America and its institutions, which was such a prominent feature of the middle years of the nineteenth century, was gradually dissipated in the course of subsequent decades until by the middle of the twentieth century 'anti-Americanism' was widespread among adherents of the Left in British politics. At one end of the time span was Bright, accused by his opponents of trying to 'Americanize' English politics: at the other end of the scale was Bevan, goaded by American policy into making his own sharp protest within the Labour party. Much the weakest part of this book is the end, which is already completely out of date, and Bevan never emerges in these pages as an historical figure.

Mr. Pelling is best at bringing out, with the help of what in this field is unusually detailed research, conflicts and controversies which contain within themselves almost all the contemporary elements in the problem of left-wing British attitudes towards America. His account of the caucus is well drawn, he has many interesting things to say about British writing on American management and productivity in the first decade of the twentieth century, and he cleverly sorts out all the main themes in the very complicated story of the relations between British and American Labour during the war of 1914-18. He is less successful in maintaining continuity, and the episodic treatment he favours means that gaps are sometimes left in the narrative. It would have been helpful too if at some point he had stood back and discussed the changes in his political equations from period to period. Nearly all the factors in his equations have had different weight at different times—the economic power of Britain and the United States; the strength of parties, trade unions, newspapers and periodicals; the pull of interest and ideology; and, above all, the place of the Left itself (this is a concept which needs analyzing) in the political sense. It would be difficult enough to write a short history of the British Left: it becomes more than doubly difficult when all the variables of two systems of politics, two economies and two societies—both of them in constant change—have to be considered in their full relationships at each step in the argument.

On two of the critical factors Mr. Pelling is lucid and illuminating. He rightly points to the significance of the shift in England from a radical Left to a socialist Left, and he brings out all the sense of shock when it was realized in Britain that the late nineteenth-century American economy had

problems just as serious—to humanitarians and to Marxists more serious—than the older economy on this side of the Atlantic. He shows also how in the 1930's questions of foreign policy began to assume central importance. Whatever the Left thought of the future prospects of the people of the United States, at least they hoped to have them as an ally against the Fascist powers. He does not bring out equally clearly the implications of continuous American prosperity since the 1940's and the significance of the widening gap in the standard of living of people in Britain and the United States at the present time. Students of both British and American history will, however, be grateful to him for making a genuinely scholarly contribution to this field and for raising a large number of new and absorbing questions.

University of Leeds

ASA BRIGGS

Mr. Felix Gross in his biography, *RHODES OF AFRICA* (London: Cassell, 1956. ix + 433 pp. 25s.), researches and writes in the manner of the American 'era of the muckrakers', and he will certainly annoy two kinds of readers: uncritical admirers of Cecil Rhodes and academic historians with their eyes on style and sources. Any shock which he may give to modern Rhodesian myth-makers by his exposure of Rhodes' financial, political and social intrigues is, perhaps, justified. But, although it must be noted that Mr. Gross promises to deposit for 'inquisitive scholars' in four major libraries 'an extensive bibliography of Rhodes and his times', his complete lack of references and of indication of sources, in a work which contains so many controversial points, seems hardly justified. Surely he could have provided at least a simple but effective apparatus on the lines of Basil Williams' statement of sources in his own Rhodes biography? Mr. Gross will irritate further the academic mind by the over-conversational character of much of his prose and by a number of unnecessary errors, such as his reference on p. 255 to the 'Kinley Tariff'. Moreover, there are some parts of the Rhodes story which he either ignores or treats with undue haste: in particular, Rhodes' manœuvres in the Nyasa and Congo regions, and the quarrel of Rhodes and Harry Johnston, much of which is now revealed in P.R.O. and other documents. It is surprising, too, that Mr. Gross does not give more of the Central African career of Herbert Rhodes—for, as he notes (pp. 68, 412), the influence of this eldest brother on Cecil Rhodes was great. Nevertheless, anyone who is seriously interested in Cecil Rhodes should not neglect this book. It is particularly interesting on Rhodes' personal life; has much of value to say on the literary influences on him, some of them from rather surprising quarters, such as Zola's *Germinal* which 'pinched his social conscience'; provides material (pp. 218, 245-6, 367, 403-4) that suggests that Rhodes' contribution to African agriculture has been underestimated; and offers many new details (clearly the result of much original work) which illustrate what Mr. Gross aptly calls the 'muddled romanticism' that was the leitmotiv of Rhodes' life. In spite of all its shortcomings, Mr. Gross' book affords ample material to justify W. T. Stead's judgement on Rhodes: that seldom has 'one man been permitted in his brief career to illustrate both the qualities which built up empires and faults which destroy them'.

University of Edinburgh

GEORGE SHEPPERSON

PARLIAMENTARY REFORM IN SWEDEN 1866-1921. By D. V. Verney.

Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1957. xii + 295 pp. 45s.

Since 1866 there have been rapid and fundamental constitutional changes in Sweden. The formal division of authority between Crown and Parliament remains and still operates in important ways but the relationship between King, Ministers and Parliament is now very different from what it was in 1866 when 'the King, aided by the bureaucracy and conservative nobility dominated the scene'. The milestones in this period of change are the Parliamentary Reform Acts of 1866, 1907-9, and 1918. According to Mr. Verney each of these reforms also signalled the rise to power of a new class, first that of the bankers, merchants and ironmasters, secondly that of the lower middle class, many of them Nonconformists, and finally that of the working class. This book is an account of the events leading up to each of these reforms, the constitutional issues involved, the manoeuvres of the parties and of the various interests, the part played by the King and individuals such as De Geer, Lindmann and Staaff, and the effect of the changes when carried out. The constitutional and political history of this period is not easily told. The King has become a constitutional monarch but the story is not one of a struggle for ministerial responsibility to a popularly elected chamber. The tradition of a separation of powers and bicameralism have complicated the picture. Organized and disciplined parties were late on the scene. Mr. Verney's analysis in terms of interests or classes is in part a substitute for an analysis in terms of institutions and in part a background for an understanding of institutional changes. At the same time due weight is given to the decisive part played by certain political leaders of the day. This book is a valuable even if not always a well written addition to the growing collection of books on Swedish history and politics.

London School of Economics

K. PANTER-BRICK

IN BEFORE VICTORIA (London: Chatto and Windus. 1956. xii + 212 pp. 18s.). Mrs. Muriel Jaeger has an interesting theme—the transformation of the manners and ethical standards, if not of society as a whole, at least of those who set the tone of society in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, and the appearance of the 'sombre earnestness' that we associate with the Victorian age. 'At what stage in that strange transition,' she asks, 'did the younger generation begin to reproach its elders with frivolity, thus reversing the usual routine of the generations?' She rightly points out that much that is popularly considered Victorian was in fact pre-Victorian: Bowdler's famous *Family Shakespeare* was published in 1804; Thomas Arnold, whom Lytton Strachey included among his *Eminent Victorians*, became headmaster of Rugby in 1828 and died only five years after the Queen's accession. Mrs. Jaeger discusses the causes of the greater 'earnestness' in religious matters that led the *Annual Register* to comment in 1798 that 'it was a wonder to the lower orders throughout all parts of England to see the avenues to the churches filled with carriages'. The *Register* attributed the religious revival and more particularly the royal proclamations 'for paying a decent and due regard to Sundays' to the reaction against the excesses of the French Revolution, but the author questions the validity of this argument. Her discussion of the changes in thought and behaviour is woven round a number of individual figures such as Hannah More, once a successful playwright who

in later life refused to enter a theatre, and Wilberforce, who reproached his relations and guardians for the pains that they had taken 'to make me dissipated and vain'. Although she has drawn only on printed sources and provides no conclusive answer to the questions that she poses in her introduction, Mrs. Jaeger does suggest lines for further study.

Dr. Esmé Wingfield-Stratford has undertaken in *THE SQUIRE AND HIS RELATIONS* (London: Cassell. 1956. xii + 424 pp. 42s.) 'to tell the story of the squire without bias or sentiment', since 'to understand the English squire is to go a long way towards understanding England'. His accounts of some individuals, such as Sir Tatton Sykes and Henry Chaplin are of interest, but most of his book covers ground that is all too familiar. There is also a certain familiarity about Charles Furth's *LIFE SINCE 1900* (London: Allen and Unwin. 1956. 172 pp. 15s.), a brief work that would be even briefer did it not include numerous extracts from other books. Mr. Furth's own contributions appear to have been composed in haste and are far from accurate. To list his mis-statements in detail would be tedious, but the following sentence will serve as a sample. 'In 1871', he writes, 'Bismarck—against a background of Prussian thigh-boots, white breeches, red tunics and spiked helmets—had declared Frederick William of Prussia Emperor of Germany.' It is not possible to endorse the publisher's claim that this book will be welcome to teachers 'both for their own reference and for classroom libraries'.

King's College, London

C. H. D. HOWARD

Hans Peter Hanssen's *DIARY OF A DYING EMPIRE* (Indiana University Press. 1955. liii + 409 pp.) was originally written in Danish and published in 1924. It has now been translated by O. O. Winther and edited by him with Mary Schofield and Ralph H. Lutz of Indiana University. Hanssen was a leader and representative in the Reichstag of the predominantly Danish area known as North Schleswig, ceded by Denmark to Austria and Prussia after the war of 1864, and reunited with Denmark after a plebiscite in 1920. The parts of the *Diary* published here begin on 1 August 1914 and end on 14 November 1918, the day on which the foreign minister, Solf, officially confirmed to Hanssen the German Government's intention to agree to plebiscites in Schleswig. From his vantage point as a deputy and member of the Finance Committee of the Reichstag Hanssen was able to paint a vivid picture of the powerlessness of the Reichstag and the extent to which it was kept in ignorance of affairs of State, of the search for scapegoats, the disorderliness and the hysteria which increased as the prospect of victory faded, and of the growing misery and despair of the people of Germany. The *Diary* is a valuable record from the inside of one aspect of the German collapse, and its belated translation into English is to be welcomed.

University College, Aberystwyth

P. A. REYNOLDS

James Wyatt is perhaps best remembered for two buildings which no longer exist, the Oxford Street Pantheon and Beckford's Fonthill Abbey, but he was a prolific architect in both the classical and gothic styles. Mr. Anthony Dale's *JAMES WYATT* (Oxford: Blackwell. 1956. 228 pp. 30s.) is an expanded, largely rewritten and well illustrated version of his book, published in 1936, on the same architect.

A not altogether insignificant chapter in the religious history of the nineteenth century is told by G. R. Balleine in *PAST FINDING OUT, THE TRAGIC STORY OF JOANNA SOUTHCOFF AND HER SUCCESSORS* (London: S.P.C.K. 1956. 151 pp. 15s. 6d.). The author tells this extraordinary history with sympathy and understanding, but it is a pity that he gives no sources for it, though they obviously exist.

The influence of the personal contacts of Edmund Burke and his son Richard with France and the French upon his attitude to the French Revolution is discussed by Stephan Skalweit in an interesting and well-documented essay, *EDMUND BURKE UND FRANKREICH* (Cologne: Westdeutscher Verlag. Arbeitsgemeinschaft für Forschung des Landes Nordrhein-Westfalen. 1956. 75 pp.).

It is useful to have a selection of the *DISCOURS ET RAPPORTS* of Saint-Just, edited by A. Soboul (Paris: Editions Sociales. 1957. 222 pp. 350 fr.), though their mixture of platitudes and jargon helps one to appreciate, by comparison, the intellectual superiority of Robespierre.

The distinguished historian of the revolutionary period, M. Marc Bouloiseau, has contributed to the 'Que sais-je?' series a short biography in praise of *ROBESPIERRE* (Paris: Presses Universitaires. 1956. 128 pp.).

Georges Duveau's *LES INSTITUTEURS* (Paris: Editions du Seuil. 1957. 192 pp.) is a vivaciously written and well-illustrated short history of the French teaching profession since 1792. It deals mainly, and significantly, with the religious, political and social struggles which have raged round French schools and of which the *instituteur* has been the active partisan or the passive victim since the Revolution.

TRACK OF THE YEARS: THE STORY OF ST. ARNAUD, by Yvonne S. Palmer (Melbourne University Press, Cambridge University Press. 1956. viii + 308 pp. 30s.), is a history of a country town in Victoria, from its beginnings with a gold rush in 1855, through its new life as the centre of a farming district, to its condition today. The writer has worked from old newspapers and original records, and the work is thorough and reliable. The atmosphere of the gold-diggings and of the days of selectors *versus* squatters is well captured. As social and economic history the book is to be highly recommended. J. D. B. M. *LE SECOND EMPIRE* by G. Pradalié (*Que sais-je?* Paris: Presses Universitaires. 1957. 128 pp.) is a useful and competent short summary.

The history of Queen Victoria's eldest daughter, happily married to the Crown Prince Frederick William of Prussia but unhappy in nearly all her other connections with her adopted country, particularly in the hatred of Bismarck, and tragic in the death of the Emperor Frederick III three months after his accession, is told in Dr. Richard Barkeley's *THE EMPRESS FREDERICK* (London: Macmillan. 1956. xiv + 322 pp. 30s.). More recently the late Count Corti has been able to retell the story with fuller documentation in *THE ENGLISH EMPRESS. A STUDY IN THE RELATIONS BETWEEN QUEEN VICTORIA AND HER ELDEST DAUGHTER, EMPRESS FREDERICK OF GERMANY* (London: Cassell. 1957. xiii + 406 pp. 42s.). Revealing glimpses of Bismarck and the Prussian Court are given, but the main interest is, of course, biographical. As a pendant may be mentioned the three fascinating little vignettes by J. W. Wheeler-Bennett in his Leslie Stephen lecture, *THREE EPISODES IN THE LIFE OF KAISER WILHELM II* (Cambridge University Press. 1956. 27 pp. 3s. 6d.).

DER EINMARSCH DEUTSCHER TRUPPEN IN DIE ENTMILITARISIERTE ZONE AM RHEIN IM MÄRZ 1936, by Max Braubach (Westdeutscher Verlag. 1956. 40 pp. DM.2.40), is a useful study of the political background, both international and internal, to Hitler's re-occupation of the Rhineland. No documentary sources are used, but the pamphlet will be valuable, both as a starting-point for research and as a reliable summary for anyone attempting a general history of the period.

THE AMERICAS

THE INTELLECTUAL LIFE OF COLONIAL NEW ENGLAND (New York University Press. London: Oxford University Press. 1956. 288 pp. 40s.) is the second edition of a work by Professor S. E. Morison first published in 1935 under the title *The Puritan Pronaos*. Professor Morison's chief concern is not to emphasize English cultural influences but to counteract 'the disparaging, and for the most part inaccurate accounts of New England colonial culture' first given currency by the Adams school of historians, and subsequently popularized by the Beards. That the traditional picture of a New England theocracy exercising rigid control over men's thoughts and opinions is still widely accepted is, perhaps, the best argument for re-issuing this revisionist study, which is written with Professor Morison's customary blend of scholarship and urbanity.

University of Manchester

M. A. JONES

A STUDY ON THE HISTORIOGRAPHY OF THE BRITISH WEST INDIES TO THE END OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY. By Elsa V. Goveia. Mexico: Instituto Panamericano de Geografia e Historia: Comision de Historia, No. 78. 1956. 181 pp. 18 D.F.

This book is in no way comparable with Jacques de Dampierre's celebrated study of the early historiography of the French West Indies. Indeed, the historians of the British West Indies neither require nor deserve the same detailed treatment of their sources and authenticity, especially if manuscript histories are to be excluded, as Dr. Goveia has decided to exclude them. (They would not have amounted to much.) Miss Goveia has written her book from a special though intelligible point of view: she is primarily, one might say only, interested in the opinions of those who called themselves, or are called, historians on two fundamental political and social questions—that of race relations, or slavery, and (less important to her) that of constitutional relations within the colonies and between them and the mother country. Having set out to do this, she has written much that is interesting and important. Perhaps, however, one might suggest that it is rather an accident that the writers whom she discusses were historians—and even more of an accident, since she excludes those who do not call *themselves* historians: thus Griffith Hughes and Smith of Nevis are included, while Sloane, a greater man of the same kind, is excluded; Long is included, while Beckford, a lesser man of the same kind, is excluded. Miss Goveia writes from a standpoint which she believes to have absolute validity—that of modern coloured democracy; thus on p. 170 she makes a curious distinction between detachment and objectivity. This leads her to leave out of account all those tempor-

ary historical circumstances which, to some degree, rendered plausible the opinions which she rejects. With these qualifications, however, it must be said that this book is an important and useful beginning of British West Indian historiography, though it is not historiography in all the senses in which that term is generally used.

All Souls College, Oxford

RICHARD PARES

LONDON CORRESPONDENCE INWARD FROM EDEN COLVILLE, 1849-52.

Edited by E. E. Rich. Intro. by W. L. Morton. London: Hudson's Bay Record Soc., 1956.

ALEXANDER BEGG'S RED RIVER JOURNAL. Edited by W. L. Morton. Toronto: Champlain Society. 1956. xxiii + 638 pp.

These two volumes illustrate two critical stages in the development of the isolated settlement of Red River. Eden Colville was sent as Governor to reside in the long serpentine village of Assiniboia at a time when the mixed society of *métis*, hunters, fishermen, tripmen and farmers had asserted their claim for a greater measure of independence of the Hudson's Bay Company rule and monopoly. Distrust and restlessness had been accentuated by the dispute over the Oregon frontier, the enforcement of import duties under the charter, and the trial of illicit traders and interlopers. The military force which had imposed restraint was replaced by a suspect group of new immigrant pensioners. Moreover, it seemed that Colville's instructions required him to insist on chartered privileges and to assert Company authority. Instead, as this volume of letters shows, he engaged in the quiet work of pacification in a spirit of understanding seeking a compromise between the rights of the settlers and those of the Company. As for the monopoly, the Company found it better to rely on their greater capital and better organization than to stand firm on arid and provocative legal rights.

Alexander Begg was observer rather than principal in the events twenty years later when the *métis* rebelled against the highhanded transfer of the settlement from the Company to the Dominion of Canada without consultation with them. The origins of the Riel rebellion were many: racial, political, economic, agrarian, religious, external and personal. A fear of a flood of Protestant immigrants from Ontario filled Riel with a sense of mission already verging upon insanity. He was impelled to establish a *de facto* government without legal sanction and to assert unity by force.

Both volumes have been attractively produced and well edited. Professor Morton has written excellent introductions to them both, though one might doubt if he is not pushing his case to extremes when he suggests that it was Riel who shook Quebec out of a parochial indifference into an active role for the maintenance of French institutions throughout the Dominion. Begg's Journal is already known as an indispensable source for the Rebellion. It is lively and amusing. But Professor Morton has printed here a number of contemporary letters, reports and memoranda which fill out many of Begg's brief notes. It is interesting to observe the growing storm and persistent rumours over the 'judicial murder' of Thomas Scott by the provisional government and to read Louis Riel's own memoir on the course and purpose of the rebellion, written four years later. The Dominion had, he argued, broken faith with the provisional government and for Manitoba and the North West was 'a fraud and a deceit'. It was clear that his tense and

wayward spirit was seeking another opportunity of protest. Despite this second fiasco, Riel's vision of the West as a refuge for the poor and persecuted minorities of Europe was, in the course of time, at least in part fulfilled.

Rhodes House, Oxford

A. F. McC. MADDEN

Two new works join the long list of textbook surveys of Latin American history by North American historians: D. E. Worcester and W. G. Schaeffer, *THE GROWTH AND CULTURE OF LATIN AMERICA* (New York: Oxford University Press. London: Cumberlege. 1956. 963 pp. 50s.), and Alfred B. Thomas, *LATIN AMERICA: A HISTORY* (New York and London: The Macmillan Company. 1956. 801 pp. 45s. 6d.). Granted the limitations inherent in this kind of history, both books can be recommended as competent syntheses, based on up-to-date material, by authors who have already made more specialized contributions to Spanish colonial history; both take us from the discoveries to the fall of Perón, and both are refreshingly free from legends, 'black' and 'white'. Professors Worcester and Schaeffer aim at providing a broad survey rather than a detailed narrative of events; yet they have managed to find room for at least a word on almost every topic from scholasticism to the samba. In the colonial period they have not shirked the usually neglected seventeenth century. Here admittedly they are hampered by lack of information, but they have not always made the best possible use of what is available; for example, while they find space for some rather odd remarks about women in Potosí and academic processions in Lima, they have not fully exploited the important work of Borah on New Spain's economic depression in the seventeenth century. For the national period, by eschewing the conventional practice of plodding through the domestic history of each of the twenty republics, the authors have managed to restore some order out of chaos and have rendered intelligible the history of the various regional groupings of states into which they have divided their subject. But while their methods and material are sound, some of their interpretations and judgements are open to criticism. They have no hesitation in the use of question-begging labels like 'enlightenment'—Charles III 'was Spain's enlightened absolutist'—which do not explain anything unless they themselves are adequately explained, and which are gradually emptied of meaning by the authors' own evidence. In the modern period, while they are aware of some of the shortcomings of the United States' policy towards her southern neighbours, they introduce communism as a bogey rather than as a historical phenomenon needing to be explained. Professor Thomas's book is complementary; he provides less discussion and rather more factual narrative. He is authoritative on Spanish expansion in North America in the colonial period, and on the frontier problems of northern New Spain in the late eighteenth century. For readers nurtured on English historiography he supplies some useful correctives on the subject of the Anglo-Spanish colonial struggle. Nevertheless he has his own prejudices, and when he is dealing with inter-American relations in the national period these prejudices invariably operate in favour of the United States. But his greatest weakness is a tendency to find concern for 'democratic' ideas and institutions in the most unlikely places and at times when such concepts, unless they are to become completely debased, have no real meaning in Latin American history: the struggle for republican government should not be confused with a struggle

for democratic government. Finally, both these books share a common limitation: religion is not their strong point. Although the colonial regime was overthrown, one of its most characteristic institutions, the Church, survived and is still there. Reading these accounts it is difficult to appreciate why. Moreover, in their analyses of Church-State relations in the national period, the authors are much more aware of the problems of the State than they are of those of the Church. But it is impossible to satisfy everyone.

University of Liverpool

JOHN LYNCH

Professor R. H. Gabriel first published *THE COURSE OF AMERICAN DEMOCRATIC THOUGHT* (New York: Ronald Press, 1956. 508 pp. \$6) in 1940. He has now revised and greatly enlarged the book, and given it a new emphasis, partly in the light of later research, still more from a new orientation. The later chapters are, for the most part, re-written. The discussion of figures like Melville and Thoreau, Calhoun and Henry George is fuller. Brooks Adams is given more attention as a key-figure in the shaping of American 'imperialism' in 1898-1900. And the despairing stress on nationalism, natural to 1940, is now minimized.

Professor Gabriel sets out the doctrines of the American democratic faith as three in essence: individualism, bred on the farm and on the frontier, in enterprising industry and in trade; the idea of the fundamental law, moral as well as legal, in the hearts of men as well as in the (not always consistent) minds of the Justices on the Supreme Bench; and, not least, the idea of 'mission', of Manifest Destiny before and after 1846, an expression of superiority to, and remoteness from, the old and corrupt world, democracy in fact for export. He gives excellent analyses of the major philosophic and some political figures: good on Melville and Sumner and outstandingly good on Josiah Royce—even though they are hard to fit into the pattern Professor Gabriel suggests. The book is less satisfactory on the Civil War, nor is sufficient attention paid to the conservative stream that has from the outset paralleled the individualist in the United States, and that is now in the ascendant. Did the frontier not produce aristocrats as well as democrats, gregariousness and mob emotion rather than free thought? Was it 'the land of the few against the impersonal much' (in Wilson Clough's phrase)—or a Main Street for the orthodox? Professor Gabriel is good in his discussions of American symbolism: but one feels that the contemporary scene that he reduces to pattern was more variegated than his pages suggest, its inhabitants more complex.

University of Glasgow

ESMOND WRIGHT

Few aspects of American history are as baffling to an English reader as American constitutional law, and the right of the Courts to pronounce on the constitutionality of legislation. One phrase of which the Courts are particularly fond is 'due process of law'—the right established by the Fifth Amendment in 1790 which provided that 'no person shall . . . be deprived of life, liberty or property without due process of law'. In 1866 the Fourteenth Amendment added 'nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty or property without due process of law . . .'. What became significant in this Amendment was less the effort of the Federal Government to prevent discrimination against negroes than the use made of it by business. From 1877 on, for thirty years, the Courts held that a corporation was legally a 'person',

and under this clause they thus gave protection to corporations against the efforts of some States to curb their practices, to tax them, or to protect their employees by enacting health or welfare legislation. Some historians, like Charles Beard, have gone so far as to suggest that there was a deliberate 'conspiracy' to shape the Fourteenth Amendment to this purpose, that the 'due process' clause was 'cabalistic'. In *THE FRAMING OF THE FOURTEENTH AMENDMENT* (University of Illinois Press, 1956, 220 pp.) Dr. Joseph B. James examines in detail the drafting of this Amendment and concludes that there was no such conspiracy, that the motives of John Bingham and of Thaddeus Stevens were, as one would expect, abolitionist though not humanitarian, concerned with Republican partisanship and with keeping a grip on national politics, and with little else. Articles by Louis Boudin and by H. J. Graham in law journals have already established these points (Louis Boudin, 'Truth and Fiction about the Fourteenth Amendment', *New York University Law Quarterly Review*, XVI, Nov. 1938; H. J. Graham, 'The Conspiracy Theory', *Yale Law Journal*, XLVII, Jan. 1938). But Dr. James draws the story together comprehensively, and his final chapter argues convincingly that in 1866 racial segregation was as little an issue as the status of the corporations. To the framers of the Fourteenth Amendment legal equality consisted in the equal rights suggested in the federal Bill of Rights, not in social or political rights. Neither for the entrepreneur nor for the social reformer was the Amendment then the radical document that it became, for the first, at the hands of Mr. Justice Field in the 1870's, and, for the second, at the hands of Mr. Justice Warren and nine unanimous men in 1954.

University of Glasgow

ESMOND WRIGHT

THE AGE OF MACKENZIE KING: THE RISE OF THE LEADER. By H. S. Ferns and B. Ostry. London: Heinemann, 1956. xii + 356 pp. 25s.

Mackenzie King remains one of the most controversial and baffling figures in Canadian history; in the domestic sphere he was a master of the Machiavelian arts of statecraft; he was also one of the most successful politicians in history, if success may be measured by length of tenure in office. In this book the authors try to discover what evidence exists in King's early career to explain his subsequent triumphs. They make it quite clear that he was an able, and conceivably a great man, but that he was not, on the whole a very pleasant character. This judgement the documentary evidence largely substantiates, and it is unfortunate that they have not practised the useful English art of understatement in their interpretations of it. By evincing a reluctance on occasion to give their subject the benefit of the doubt, and by cross-examination in the best Old Bailey manner they tend to create, at times, a feeling of sympathy for the ill-favoured culprit.

The book shows bias—a tendency shocking to those of irreproachable objectivity or political loyalty—but that is no reason for disregarding or under-estimating the substantial materials which the authors have uncovered and analysed with scholarly care. The book is not a 'definitive study', as the authors confess; but it is a highly documented account of the first half of Mackenzie King's career, and even where final conclusions are not possible or where judgements are shaky, it raises challenging points, and poses questions that no future biographer can overlook.

At the age of twenty-six, King became the first deputy minister of Labour

in the newly created Department; and for eight years before he became Minister of Labour (1909-11) he used the Department as a forum from which he could exploit his newly discovered principle of Conciliation, and at the same time found his public reputation. Hitherto Canadian historians have tended to ignore or neglect the ominous social cleavages between capital and labour that had begun to develop on both sides of the border in the dawn of the industrial era. King, as the authors reveal, regarded this rapidly widening gulf as the fundamental fact of Canadian society and the key to Canadian political life. He recognized—for he was better informed about sociological trends through his academic training in Toronto, Harvard and Chicago than any of his contemporaries—that new forces were transforming the industrial structure of Canada. Even his book *Industry and Humanity* (1918), padded as it was with theoretical generalizations, showed that he was more willing than almost anyone else to abandon well-established loyalties and conventional ideas in order to maintain contact with the new society that was emerging.

Between 1914 and 1919 King was employed over long periods investigating industrial relations in distant areas of the Rockefeller empire, especially Colorado. The story of his American experiences is a contribution to our knowledge of the part played by the United States, and particularly expansive 'big business', in Canadian affairs. His own personal role on the international stage was hardly a creditable one, and his conduct suggests that his famed Canadian 'nationalism' was for the time being at least closely tied to American 'power'. The authors have discovered, for example, that early in World War I King was writing privately to the American Secretary of State, William Jennings Bryan, urging the State Department to persevere in its policy of neutrality, a course whereby the United States might advance 'the whole basis of world civilization; and, at the same time, in the sum of things, greatly further its own diplomatic ends' (4 September 1914).

At home, however, he gave no such damaging hostages to fortune. Despite long absences from Ottawa, he kept his connections in good repair, and throughout the latter part of the book one may follow the development of a master tactician who was, without Laurier's blessing, to win the Liberal leadership in 1919. Mackenzie King had unique talent for gathering a following of friends and disciples and holding them; he had a more sophisticated understanding of how to build a political fence or a party machine than any of his contemporaries. He was probably the first politician in North America to sense the importance of an expert bureaucracy in the business of government, and in forwarding this system he was, as the authors correctly point out, gradually to transform the character of Canadian government. 'Today the Canadian bureaucracy is no longer simply an instrument of government, but a part of the government itself. It makes the policies of the Canadian state, and, through its connections with the Liberal Party, gives leaders to Parliament and the Cabinet. The growth in size and power of the Canadian bureaucracy has been a noticeable phenomenon only during the period since the outbreak of World War II in 1939, but we can see that one of the formative incidents in its growth occurred when Mackenzie King accepted the Deputy Ministership of Labour in 1900.'

King's College, London

G. S. GRAHAM

SIXTEENTH-CENTURY MAPS RELATING TO CANADA. A CHECK-LIST AND BIBLIOGRAPHY, with an introduction by T. E. Layng (Ottawa, Public Archives of Canada. 1956. xxvi + 283 pp. \$2.50), lists and annotates 830 cartographical items down to 1600 and should prove of considerable value. Dr. Jau, a Huguenot convert to Anglicanism, was sent by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel to South Carolina. THE CAROLINA CHRONICLE OF DR. FRANCIS LE JAU 1706-1717, edited by Frank J. Klingberg (California University Press. 1956. vi + 220 pp. \$3.50), contains his letters to the Society describing his work was among white settlers, native Indians and negro slaves.

Per Sveaas Andersen's WESTWARD IS THE COURSE OF EMPIRES; A STUDY IN THE SHAPING OF AN AMERICAN IDEA: FREDERICK JACKSON TURNER'S FRONTIER (Oslo University Press. 1956. 133 pp.) is an elaborate little analysis, the weighty air of which Turner himself might perhaps have regarded with dismay. Paul Horgan's THE CENTURIES OF SANTA FE (London: Macmillan. 1957. 233 pp. 21s.) is another of his works of fictional history, as opposed to historical fiction, which may please his admirers but will annoy those who like their history pure.

DOCUMENTS ON INTER-AMERICAN CO-OPERATION, edited by Robert N. Burr and Roland D. Hussey (University of Pennsylvania Press; Oxford University Press. 1956. 2 vols. xi + 182 pp., xii + 214 pp. 24s. each), is an undergraduate source book illustrating the general history of Pan-Americanism. The documents, or portions of documents, selected cover the years 1810 to 1948.

CONTEMPORARY

THE GERMAN SCENE, SOCIAL, POLITICAL, CULTURAL. 1890 TO THE PRESENT DAY, by Edmond Vermeil (London: Harrap. 1956. 288 pp. 25s.), is a translation of the second volume of Professor Vermeil's *L'Allemagne Contemporaine* (1953) and covers the period of the Weimar Republic and the Third Reich. A final chapter, 'Conclusions and Prospects', deals with developments from 1945 to 1950. The English edition lacks the appendices (documents and chronological tables) of the original, but has an Introduction summarizing the first volume of *L'Allemagne Contemporaine*, which dealt with the reign of Wilhelm II.

Encyclopædic in scope, the work deals with the political, economic and diplomatic history of the period, examining in addition ideological changes on the political, philosophic and literary plane. The leitmotiv is the continuity of development apparent in German affairs. The Third Reich is considered to be 'no merely adventitious episode on the fringes of the German tradition' and the Weimar Republic is seen as an interlude between the Socialist Nationalism of Wilhelm II's time and the National Socialism of Hitler. Both are held to be the product of factors inherent in the German body politic since the Reformation. Professor Vermeil's conclusions are mildly optimistic: Germany appears to have outgrown her late sickness of spirit but the German combination of technical discipline with Romantic visions of future greatness is still a potential menace to Europe.

The translator has not had an easy task, but has on the whole succeeded in turning the original French, with its numerous rhetorical embellishments,

into readable English. Occasional *non sequiturs* occur, one particularly baffling example, on p. 150, being due to a mistranslation. It is to be hoped that the Introduction, which is so condensed and elliptical as to be barely intelligible in places, will not deter the reader from giving *The German Scene* the attention it deserves. It is a timely and valuable survey, packed with information and showing a keen perception of the complex operations of the German mind.

University College, Aberystwyth

C. P. MAGILL

OFFICIAL HISTORY OF THE CANADIAN ARMY IN THE SECOND WORLD WAR.

Vol. I. SIX YEARS OF WAR: THE ARMY IN CANADA, BRITAIN AND THE PACIFIC. By Col. C. P. Stacey. 629 pp. \$4. Vol. II. THE CANADIANS IN ITALY. By Lt.-Col. G. W. L. Nicholson. Government Publications, Ottawa. 1956. 807 pp. \$3.50.

Canada, like Australia and New Zealand, has been able to produce Official War Histories which combine the lavish production and the wide command of allied and enemy sources enjoyed by our own Cabinet Office historians with a detailed narrative of events which here is possible in Regimental Histories alone. The student of war can thus find every aspect of his subject—administrative, political, strategic, tactical—fully treated within a single volume, well provided with illustrations and maps. The first of these volumes is primarily concerned with the development of the Canadian Army from its absurdly low peacetime strength to the huge and well-trained force which invaded Europe in 1943-4. Apart from minor operations in the Pacific the only major action with which it deals is the Dieppe landing of 1942, and this is treated with outstanding thoroughness and narrative skill. The same can be said of the account of Sicilian and Italian operations in the second volume, for which Lt.-Col. Nicholson has been able to draw heavily on German sources available only to official historians; an advantage which makes his work valuable not simply as a unit history but as one of the most thorough accounts of the strategy of the campaign which has yet appeared. Even more remarkable, however, is the ability which Col. Stacey shows in the first volume in handling the humdrum details of training, administration and supply which seldom find their way into military histories but which constitute the bulk of his. He paints a picture of a modern army in the round and makes it interesting: it is hard to recall any other official history which even attempts so forbidding a task.

King's College, London

MICHAEL HOWARD

THE WAR AT SEA, 1939-1945, VOL. II: THE PERIOD OF BALANCE. By Captain S. W. Roskill, R.N. London: H.M.S.O. 1956. xvi + 523 pp. 42s.

This second volume of Captain Roskill's *The War at Sea* covers the period January 1942 to May 1943. It contains few of the more superficially dramatic highlights like the sinkings of the *Graf Spee*, the *Bismarck*, the *Scharnhorst* and the *Tirpitz*, and it merely summarizes the great Americo-Japanese actions in the Pacific, rightly leaving their details to the American official histories. Yet, as Captain Roskill shows with unanswerable clarity, this volume covers the most critical phase of the war, and its longest, fiercest and most decisive

battles—those for Malta, those of the northern convoys and, above all, the crucial stages of that one which we had to win—the Battle of the Atlantic.

The historical balance which the author revealed in Volume I was evidently no flash in the pan. He is as competent here as he was, steering through his bewildering mass of material with an unfailing insight into what is essential. The result is a connected story at once detailed, clear, authoritative and interesting—indeed often profoundly moving—and all of it supremely important to future historians and future governments alike. For the cardinal lessons of Sea Power—how best, and how not, to use it—are all there. Nor, as before, is he afraid to record mistakes committed by all services, and at all levels. Thus he shows, in the story of the disastrous convoy PQ.17, the danger of Admiralty intervention, overriding the men on the spot; the peril inherent in ‘tugs-of-war’ between Admiralty and Air Ministry, and the understandable differences of emphasis between Britain and the U.S.A. Yet he is scrupulously fair to all parties, and shows, without difficulty, that such errors and jealousies, inevitable under the circumstances, were invariably resolved before they became fatal. For openmindedness and generosity could, and always did, triumph over parochialism in the end. Indeed, when we consider the problems, vast and incredibly complex, which faced the allied war-directors, we can but wonder, gratefully, not that they sometimes erred, but that they ever survived, triumphant—and still sane.

Unquestionably Captain Roskill regards the Spring of 1943 as the climax of the naval, if not of the whole, conflict. And unquestionably he is right. For then the bitter final phase of the Battle of the Atlantic was joined, won—and lost. His account of it, and still more his analysis of it, is of such profound and lasting importance that no future historian of the war can ever afford to ignore it.

MICHAEL LEWIS

THE MEDITERRANEAN AND MIDDLE EAST, Vol. II, by Maj.-Gen. I. S. O. Playfair (History of the Second World War, Military Series, edited by J. R. M. Butler. London: H.M.S.O. 1956. 392 pp. 35s.), covers the war in the Middle East from the arrival of Rommel at the beginning of 1941 to the eve of General Cunningham’s offensive in the following autumn. It thus deals not only with the classic armoured campaigns in the Western Desert but also with the fighting in Greece, Crete, Syria, Iraq and East Africa. The activities of the three services are treated as one, and a deserved amount of attention is devoted to the problems of logistics and command on whose solution the successful conduct of the war depended. The narrative is as clear as the judgements are impartial, and this second volume easily maintains the high standard set by the first.

King’s College, London

M. E. HOWARD

Lt.-Col. Peter Young in *BEDOUIN COMMAND* (London: William Kimber. 1956. 203 pp. 21s.) describes in detail how the Arab Legion worked and trained for the expected war against Israel: he ends by showing it in action against internal political agitators. An enthusiastic soldier, making few allowances for civilian ignorance of army slang and initials, the author is equally interested in the problems of Byzantines and Crusaders, in Saladin and Baybars, and in the desert campaigns of 1918 and 1941. The result is a readable and useful book. Behind it all—perhaps in Lt.-Col. Young’s mind

too—lies a simple question: how could British Intelligence or its masters fail to see that the whole Jordanian system of loaned officers, equipment, subsidies and borrowed airfields neither held together after 1948, nor fitted into the Middle Eastern pattern that included Israel and much raucously emergent nationalism?

St. Paul's School

P. D. WHITTING

GENERAL

HISTORY IN A CHANGING WORLD. By Geoffrey Barraclough. Oxford: Blackwell. 1955. 246 pp. 18s.

In his disarming preface Professor Barraclough speaks of his 'genuine desire to perform a service', in other words to meet a widespread demand by intelligent people for a new view of history, a novel approach to its uses and lessons. Even so, this assemblage of *pièces d'occasion* eludes ready classification: it cannot be epitomized by a reviewer. Randomness, in what looks like a haphazard collection of addresses and reviews and broadcasting scripts, is the first note struck. It is not necessarily a bad feature, but one looks for a temper of thought, such as was provided by Acton in his majestic miscellanies, to back it up. Professor Barraclough certainly has a message, and his approach to many of his topics is subjectively presented. It reveals for example the impact made upon his preconceptions of history by the incidents of the war and his own close-up experience in the field of hostilities. These things brought about a reorientation of his ideas about human experience, and in particular turned his thoughts to the rôle of the U.S.S.R., past, present and future.

We are asked to consider the fruits of these reflections, set like those of Thucydides in the mesh or lattice-work of historical development. And some of the products are durable, nutty and wholly admirable, like the essay, already known to members of the Historical Association, on the medieval empire, a piece of brilliant compression, offering an adroit handling of the 'significance in the story of European civilization' of this immense subject. Other items in the book, like the lunch-hour address at Sheffield, printed last, with the startling chapter-heading 'What it is all about', which deploys an almost apocalyptic assortment of great movements and events in successive waves, are rather baffling in their profusion of ideas. These needed more editing and surgical treatment. Still, in defence of the volume as a whole, it must be said that its author has made a brave attempt to engage us, in a not too ponderous way, in the exercise, familiar enough among central European scholars, of measuring the historian's particulars and universals within a framework of philosophical categories.

The balloon navigator's mode of vision is congenial to the author, himself a master of the broad-sweep. It is in the now established tradition of the Stevenson chair of international history to opt for a cyclical solution. Progress in a universal sense is dismissed as undefinable. We are offered a pass-key to fit the Spengler and the Toynbee caskets. Civilizations have limited life-spans; all endure an inevitable stiffening of the fibres after the dying down of 'creative forces', the totality of these 'offering parallel achievements in parallel cycles of development'. But if 'the achievements of different civilizations' scarcely match, they certainly 'do not add up'. 'The extraordinarily impressive portrait of Yarim-Lim, king of Alalekh in the eighteenth

century B.C., the Hermes of Praxiteles, and Raphael's Sistine Madonna, are not stages in a continuous development towards artistic perfection; each is the expression of a distinct civilization'; each is equipped with its particular cultural dynamo.

Thus 'Western civilization' is not only a valid concept, it is a real historical entity, set up by some para-biological destiny. And of course it is on the way out. Without possession of the pass key, we might think this a poor outlook, but we should be prompt to 'reckon', in Spengler's words, 'with the hard cold facts of a late life'. 'What', in Professor Barraclough's words, 'we can see, if we have eyes to see, is the dim shape of the coming civilization which will supersede our own.'

No proofs are furnished to support the validity of these notions and devices; and the picture they furnish of the future is all too dim. True, there is a vision of a coming era of international geo-political realities, in which Europe will retire to its original modest status as the corner of a great continental land-mass. To establish this proposition the use of historical parallels seems hardly to be called for; and the parallels in any case are apt to come unstuck. There is the British Commonwealth to fit in, tiresome because atypical, with its inability to conform to morphological requirements, especially within the scene here presented, which is sadly wanting in seascapes and marine properties. The suggestion that the Commonwealth may be a sort of instrument by means of which Europe in suicidal mood surrenders mastery to the coloured peoples presents a fascinating opportunity for further development. But the mantle of the prophet is too soon cast aside. For, as usual, the historical parallels, when extended forward into time, are charged with ambiguities.

Practical historians are rightly to be encouraged to speculate about the fundamental nature of historical interpretation. But prudence is called for among those who venture with a metaphysical cargo into this treacherous area. When setting out with so self-assured a guide as this one, we are entitled to know more about the people who have been there before and who may be there now, to some of whom this book seems to be decidedly unfair by implication, unless it is agreed that it has a down on contemporary historians at large, as would appear from the opening chapter.

Take for example the blessed word 'historicist', a recent importation into the jargon of British social philosophy. Before the baleful glances of those who have added it to their verbal armoury the most resolute among us may be seen to quail. Call a dog a historicist, and you can hang him for anything—for a belief in continuity (with which Professor Barraclough has little patience); alternatively, for a radical relativism, the rejection of all absolutes and all repetition; or again for an intuitive approach, like that of Dilthey and Collingwood, to the uniqueness of every manifestation of the human mind; or for accepting each of life's manifestations as peculiar to time and place, and thus as unpredictable by any general rules; or, greatest of crimes, for interpreting events in a holistic fashion in terms of some notion of cosmic design or scheme of development, as did Moses and Plato and Hegel and Marx and all who have offended against the principles of Dr. Karl Popper's Open Society.

I think no historian with ideas of his own can altogether escape contamination by what Professor Barraclough calls the 'historicist myth'. If

Dr. Popper's list of deadly sins is the accepted one, then the author himself, as will be seen from the above sketch of his 'developmental' hypothesis, is surely damned beyond recovery.

King's College, London

A. V. JUDGES

IBN KHALDÛN'S PHILOSOPHY OF HISTORY. By Muhsin Mahdi. London: Allen and Unwin. 1957. 325 pp. 30s.

This book is a learned and systematic account of Ibn Khaldûn; not only, as the title tells us, of the philosophy of history (in the sense of a theory of social causation and development) contained in the great *Prolegomena* to his *Universal History*, but of his life and background. His active life, during which he met and impressed both Pedro the Cruel in Spain and Tamerlane in Damascus, was as disillusioning as that of Confucius or Machiavelli, and the account of his education and background of learning, including Muslim philosophy with its inheritance from Plato and Aristotle, and the highly respectable tradition of Muslim historiography with its emphasis on source-criticism, should be valuable to many western readers. The book is also calculated to be of use to Arabic scholars; full references are given to the Arabic sources, as well as to the existing translations, and Arabic key-words, such as the crucial term *asabiyya*, 'social solidarity' and so 'morale', are quoted along with their translations. This, and some repetitiveness, not easily to be avoided when Ibn Khaldûn's ideas are worked out successively under such headings as 'Civilization', 'the State', 'the City', 'Economic Life' and 'the Sciences' (in the sense of the Greek *technai*), may make the book not always the easiest of going for the general reader; but perseverance will be rewarded. It may here be said that the matter of most interest to those concerned with a theory of social development will be found in the fourth and penultimate chapter, 'The Science of Culture: its Subject Matter and Problems'.

Such a book could best be given to us by a Muslim scholar thoroughly at home in western social thought, and Dr. Muhsin Mahdi is excellently equipped in this respect. He is, says the publishers' note, an associate member of the Committee on Social Thought at the University of Chicago, a visiting lecturer in the Seminar für Wissenschaftliche Politik at the University of Freiburg, and on the Faculty of the Law College at Baghdad. The book is not a translation, but was written in English, a noteworthy achievement. Slips are rare and my colleague Mr. J. S. Trimmingham, Lecturer in Islamic Studies, confirms the adequacy of the author's translation, often a difficult task, of Arabic political and philosophical terms and phrases.

The point which most impresses the modern western reader of or about Ibn Khaldûn is his historical realism. He doubts, even in Holy Writ, the alleged numbers (600,000) of the Israelite host invading Canaan, on the ground that such numbers could neither have been supplied nor have manœuvred. He is aware of economic factors in history as few if any Europeans have been until recent times; the rise of economic prosperity is traced to the division of labour; conversely, 'the growth of absolute power in the state is the cause of the decline of economic prosperity', since the costliness of a professional bureaucracy and army depresses the productive classes and leads to loss of hope in the future (the familiar burden of late Roman and Byzantine history); while state interference in economic life, backed by its power of coercion, exacerbates the evils which it is trying to cure. He would

have delighted in modern science, the chemical basis of life, evolution: 'the highest mineral forms are "joint" to the lowest forms of plants, . . . the highest forms of animals to the lowest form of man. . . .' Man 'lifts himself out of the world of the apes'. Transcending Aristotle (whose *Politics* was not known to him at first hand), he sees that there is a place for a Science of Cultures, a meta-history, reflecting on the data supplied by history proper, the study which ascertains the course of past events. Like others who have described a life-cycle characteristic of civilized societies, he seems to be a determinist at the political and economic level. No one man can turn back the tide of decadence; he himself had tried and failed; he realized that the first step must be to understand. In a letter he 'described his [early] hopes and his urge to reform his community as an "incurable disease" from which he could not free himself.' In the meantime, in his last years in Cairo, as a formidable and uncorrupt judge, scorning unpopularity, he directed men back to the divine Law. He was a sincere and devout Moslem, even a mystic. There was probably genuine humility and not only a desire to avert the jealousy of anti-scientific religious circles in his surprising description of his science of societies as they are (in contrast to the philosophers' meditation on ideal societies) as worth while indeed, but 'not particularly noble'.

It may perhaps be worth mentioning that readers who wish for some acquaintance with Ibn Khaldûn's actual writing will find a useful little anthology of it in *An Arab Philosophy of History* ('Wisdom of the East' series), edited by C. Issawi. But they would not be well advised to neglect Dr. Muhsin Mahdi's thorough and learned study.

University of Glasgow

A. R. BURN

THE LIBERAL TRADITION FROM FOX TO KEYNES. Edited by Alan Bullock and Maurice Shock. London: A. and C. Black. 1956. lvi + 288 pp. 25s.
MILL AND HIS EARLY CRITICS. By J. C. Rees. University of Leicester. 1956. 63 pp. 5s.

PHILOSOPHY, POLITICS AND SOCIETY. Edited by Peter Laslett. Oxford: Blackwell. 1956. xvi + 184 pp. 18s.

The British Liberal tradition is Protean. The consequent difficulty of anthologizing it is not concealed by the editors of the latest volume in the 'British Political Tradition' series: they refer, at the outset of their full and interesting Introduction, to the 'intellectual incoherence' of Liberalism. But they see in this primarily 'the strongest argument in favour of treating Liberalism historically'. Others may see rather a need to reconsider the validity of a term which brings together within the same 'tradition' T. H. Green with his philosophy of state interference and Herbert Spencer with the philosophy of 'the man *versus* the state'. Even historically, the incoherence is surely of basic importance. Not till the 1860's, as the editors themselves point out, did the diverse elements, whose flow into the Liberal tradition they trace from the end of the eighteenth century, coalesce into an effective Liberal Party. Seventy years later that party was virtually extinct as a political force. But, except perhaps for the first decade or so, the history even of those seventy years is marked by repeated schisms. 'Collectivism', Ireland, and Imperialism each in its own way split the Liberal Party before the turn of the century. Since then there has been further fission—over foreign policy, over the Lloyd George coalition, over the National Government of the

1930's. It is symptomatic that this book should end with Keynes's question, *Am I a Liberal?*, and that it should leave unsatisfied the reader who seeks a clear conception of what Liberalism means in the twentieth century.

Even in the nineteenth century, however, and even in the period before 'collectivism' so profoundly modified Liberal policies, it is evident that Liberalism was a divided house. In *The Liberal Tradition* two figures dominate a section on 'The Philosophy of Liberty'—Acton and John Stuart Mill. That the two did on some matters reach very similar conclusions is doubtless true, though their agreement tended to be on those points at which they diverged most widely from orthodox Liberalism. And the premisses from which they reached their conclusions were utterly different. Acton, of course, was always an exotic and eccentric figure among British Liberals. But Mill has been conventionally regarded as the authentic spokesman of mid-Victorian Liberalism. One of the useful tasks performed by Professor J. C. Rees in his monograph, *Mill and his Early Critics*, is to show by means of a careful examination of contemporary views of Mill's essay *On Liberty* how critical and often hostile its reception was. He also shows conclusively that the tract *On Social Freedom*, with its half-baked collectivism, printed in 1907 and reprinted in 1941, is not by Mill. To read it now, indeed, is to wonder that the attribution was ever suggested; but this is itself a measure of the success with which Professor Rees has done his job.

Yet it is clear that British Liberalism has been more than an inconsistent set of principles and a fissile and transient party. If we return to *The Liberal Tradition* in search of something more definite and more dynamic, one striking fact may impress us. Its contents are dominated by two men, who between them account for a quarter of its pages—Bright and Gladstone. Bright occupies half as much space again as Gladstone, while Gladstone has twice as many pages as his nearest rival—Mill. Making every allowance for accidental circumstances, this preponderance is surely significant. It strongly suggests that the heart of British Liberalism is in some sense to be found in the principles and policies advocated by these outstanding leaders. Certainly to read this book is to feel the power and the persuasive eloquence of Liberalism as these men voiced it. But it is also to realize how intimately that power and persuasiveness are linked with doctrines and policies since made obsolete by circumstances. The Liberalism of *laissez faire* has a classic simplicity which is necessarily lacking in a Liberalism which tries, like that of Keynes and Beveridge, to deal with the complex problems of our own industrial society. It is true that much of Bright's and of Gladstone's doctrine concerns the application of moral principles in politics and especially in international politics; and it can be argued that much of what they say is still valid. But general principles alone, however true, do not make an effective political movement. That is done by the dynamic combination of principle and policy—a combination Liberalism has lacked in this century.

Another striking feature of *The Liberal Tradition* is the evidence it affords of serious political concern on the part of professional philosophers. Mill, Green, and Spencer—to name only the outstanding figures—would all have agreed that it is part of the philosopher's business as a philosopher to contribute to the resolution of political issues. The papers collected by Mr. Laslett in *Philosophy, Politics and Society* give a measure of the shift in philosophical attitudes since the end of the nineteenth century. Those unfamiliar

with the techniques of contemporary philosophical analysis are likely to be irritated by what they may well feel to be the triviality of the topics and the tedium of the treatment. Those familiar with the techniques may feel a certain disappointment at the poverty of the results which emerge from the application of those techniques to political theory. The book has good things in it: W. J. Rees's exhaustive analysis of sovereignty; a lucid discussion of punishment by Anthony Quinton; a stimulating attempt to state an acceptable case for the General Will by Bernard Mayo; and a most interesting examination of the use of analogy in Plato's political philosophy by Renford Bambrough. Papers like these represent real gains in clarity and understanding. But nothing in the book suggests that the new methods are likely to produce any new or revolutionary dispensation in political thought. Even the claim to clarification is not always vindicated. What clarity is there in T. D. Weldon's assertion that, for Communists, the social ownership of the means of production is a 'self-evident' or 'intuitively obvious' principle?

What especially distinguishes this kind of political philosophy from that of the nineteenth century is the fact, insisted upon by Professor Gallie in his paper on 'Liberal Morality and Socialist Morality', that the philosopher's professional concern is not to answer questions in morals or politics or metaphysics but to answer questions about those questions. The two papers in the book which do not exemplify the analytical method—Professor Oakeshott's 'Political Education' and Mr. Laslett's 'The Face to Face Society'—do consistently what the other papers do only intermittently, if at all: they make the reader think about politics. Intellectual fashion may now forbid us to say that these two writers are engaging in political *philosophy*. They seem, nevertheless, to be doing something interesting and important—and something which suggests that there might be some kind of continuity between the problems of political theory and the issues of policy and principle raised in the first of our books.

King's College, Aberdeen

J. H. BURNS

THE LAW OF STATE SUCCESSION. By D. P. O'Connell. Cambridge University Press. 1956. xl + 425 pp. 45s.

One of the most important problems of international law, particularly in view of the large number of new states which have come into existence since 1945, is discussed in this book. Dr. O'Connell examines its history since 1815 in the light of British and foreign practice.

Today, the complexity of the problem is eased somewhat by the treaties which are now invariably entered into between the new entity and the former state, or between it and third states. This was not always so, however, and the last 125 pages of Dr. O'Connell's book are of particular interest to historians. Here are to be found, as appendices, all the Opinions of the Law Officers of the Crown relating to this matter between 1823 and 1901. In addition, in the main body of the work there is a full discussion of the problems which always arise when there is a change in state identity, together with those which are peculiar to particular situations, or are the result of historical developments. Of the latter, perhaps the most complex, and the most controversial, relates to membership of the United Nations. Thus, in 1947, there was much controversy when the United Nations decided that the newly created Dominion of India succeeded the Empire of India as an original member of the United

Nations, while Pakistan had to apply for admission as a new state. While there is no doubt that there must be some legal continuity between former and new states, there is equally little doubt that international law rejects the idea of subrogation, and, as the learned author shows, too often municipal judges in this field reflect nationalist sentiments. In the light of his analysis, however, Dr. O'Connell courageously provides a code of state succession rules, which might well form the basis of a future session of the International Law Commission.

University College, London

L. C. GREEN

Walter Gumbley's OBITUARY NOTICES OF THE ENGLISH DOMINICANS FROM 1555 TO 1952 (Blackfriars Publications, 1956. 216 pp. 26s.) supersedes the work of R. Palmer (1884) and is based on the archives of the order, and other manuscript and printed sources. Appendix IV lists 'Provincials and Vicars, 1555-1950'. Within its limits this is clearly an authoritative work.

A useful LIST OF RECORD REPOSITORIES IN GREAT BRITAIN has been published by the British Records Association (London. 1956. 3s.).

A revised second edition has been published of Alan Bullock and A. J. P. Taylor's SELECT LIST OF BOOKS ON EUROPEAN HISTORY 1815-1914 (Oxford: Clarendon Press. 2nd ed. 1957. 77 pp. 7s. 6d.).

The Country Life PICTURE BOOK OF ENGLISH HISTORY (London: Country Life. 1957. 15s.) contains 112 fine photographs of buildings and sites associated with historical episodes, actual or in some cases legendary.

An interesting addition to a school library would be BRITISH HISTORICAL PORTRAITS (Cambridge University Press. 1957. 266 pp. 18s.), containing reproductions, most of them inevitably rather small, of 382 portraits in the National Portrait Gallery, with brief biographical notes on the subjects.

A HISTOIRE DE BRETAGNE has been added to the useful *Collection Armand Colin* (Paris. 1957. 224 pp.) by A. Rébillon. It is a clear and comprehensive survey, which takes a strong line against Breton 'nationalism', compromised by German support during the Second World War.

Recent addition to the *Que sais-je?* series are Jean Huré's HISTOIRE DE LA SICILE, Louis Hambis' LA SIBÉRIE, and LES ARABES by Vincent Monteil. LES BERBÈRES by G. H. Bousquet forms an admirable introduction to the history of North Africa. (All—Paris: Presses Universitaires. 1957. about 126 pp.)

SIX HISTORIANS (University of Chicago Press: Cambridge University Press. 1957. xii + 201 pp. 37s. 6d.) by the late Ferdinand Schevill, contains well-written short studies of Thucydides, St. Augustine, Machiavelli, Voltaire, Ranke and Henry Adams.

In his Robert Waley Cohen Memorial Lecture, 1956, HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE PRINCIPLE OF TOLERATION IN BRITISH LIFE (London: Epworth Press. 1957. 17 pp. 2s.), Professor Herbert Butterfield writes that 'the basic argument for religious liberty has always had to find its roots in the nature of religion itself'.

A second edition, with revisions, has been published of J. W. Gough's THE SOCIAL CONTRACT (Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1957. 259 pp. 30s.).

Mr. D. C. Somervell completes a remarkable achievement with his ABRIDGEMENT OF VOLUMES VII-X of *A Study of History* by Arnold Toynbee (Oxford University Press. 1957. 414 pp. 25s.).

A second edition, with minor changes, has appeared of *THE TEACHING OF HISTORY*, issued by the Association of Assistant Masters in Secondary Schools (Cambridge University Press. 1957. xv + 210 pp. 17s. 6d.). A review (*ante*, xxxvii, pp. 183-4) described the first edition as 'a source of inspiration and practical help'.

OTHER BOOKS RECEIVED

- John Marlowe: *THE PURITAN TRADITION IN ENGLISH LIFE*. London: Cresset Press. 1957. 148 pp. 16s.
- W. H. Howse: *SCHOOL AND BELL: Four Hundred Years of a Welsh Grammar School (Presteigne Grammar School)*. Halesowen, Worcestershire: H. Parks. 1956. viii + 80 pp. Paper 7s., cloth 10s. 6d.
- S. T. Twining: *THE HOUSE OF TWINING 1706-1956*. London: R. Twining. 1956. 115 pp. 21s.
- R. Ergang: *THE MYTH OF THE ALL-DESTRUCTIVE FURY OF THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR*. Pocono Pines, Pa.: The Craftsmen. 1956. 40 pp. \$1.00.
- Rev. David McRoberts: *THE FETTERNEAR BANNER: A SCOTTISH MEDIEVAL RELIGIOUS BANNER*. Glasgow: J. S. Burns. 1957. 32 pp. 1s. 6d.
- W. F. Frank: *THE GENERAL PRINCIPLES OF ENGLISH LAW*. London: Harrap. 1957. 194 pp. 10s. 6d.
- Eduardo Brazão: *THE ANGLO-PORTUGUESE ALLIANCE*. London: Sylvan Press. 1957. 55 pp. 8s. 6d.
- Audrey Williams: *BRAMPTON BRYAN 1643-1956*. 1956. 32 pp. 2s. 6d.
- G. Handley-Taylor and F. Granville Barker: *NINTH MUSIC BOOK, JOHN GAY AND THE BALLAD OPERA*. London: Hinrichsen Edition. 1956. Bibliography, scores, many plates.
- John Buchan: *MONTROSE*. With an Introduction by Keith Feiling. London: Oxford University Press (World's Classics). 1957. xxii + 449 pp. 8s. 6d.
- K. Marx and F. Engels: *THE HOLY FAMILY*. Moscow: Foreign Languages Publishing House. London: Lawrence and Wishart. 1957. 299 pp. 7s. 6d.
- V. I. Lenin: *THE DEVELOPMENT OF CAPITALISM IN RUSSIA*. Moscow: Foreign Languages Publishing House. London: Lawrence and Wishart. 1957. 751 pp. 9s. 6d.
- E. P. Quigly: *LIBRARIES, MANUSCRIPTS AND BOOKS OF BURMA*. Foreword by Than Tun. London: Arthur Probsthain. 1956. 34 pp. 6s.
- Rex Wailes: *TIDE MILLS, S.P.A.B.* 2 parts. 32 pp. Illus. 2s. 6d. each
- T. S. Ashton: *CHANGES IN STANDARDS OF COMFORT IN EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY ENGLAND*. (The Raleigh Lecture, 1955.) London: Oxford University Press. 1956. 3s. 6d.
- H. van der Wee: *PRIX ET SALAIRES: INTRODUCTION MÉTHODOLOGIQUE*. Cahiers d'histoire des prix. Louvain: Centerick. 1956. 47 pp.
- M. M. Bhattacharjee: *PICTORIAL POETRY*. Research Bulletin of the University of the Punjab. 1954. 182 pp. Rs.10.
- Raymond Aron: *GERMAN SOCIOLOGY*. Translated by M. and T. Bottomore. London: Heinemann. 1957. 141 pp. 16s.
- R. H. Bruce Lockhart: *THE TWO REVOLUTIONS: AN EYE-WITNESS STUDY OF RUSSIA, 1917*. London: Phoenix House. 1957. 116 pp. 10s. 6d.
- D. Ellergiers: *LE JAPON: HIER ET AUJOURD'HUI*. Brussels: Office de Publicité S.A. 1956. 116 pp.
- J. B. Frantz and J. E. Choate, Jr.: *THE AMERICAN COWBOY: THE MYTH AND THE REALITY*. London: Thames and Hudson. 1956. viii + 232 pp. 15s.
- F. Nixon: *NOTES ON THE ENGINEERING HISTORY OF DERBYSHIRE*. Derbyshire Archaeological Society. 1956. 19 pp. 2s. 6d.
- H. van Einem: *BEMERKUNGEN ZUR CATHEDRA PETRI DES LORENZO BERNINI*. Göttingen: Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften. 1955.
- J. D. Mackie: *SCOTTISH HISTORY*. National Book League, Readers' Guide. 1956. 39 pp. 3s.
- Edward Bramley: *A RECORD OF THE BURGERY OF SHEFFIELD COMMONLY CALLED THE TOWN TRUST FROM 1848 to 1955*. Sheffield: J. W. Northend. 1957. 90 pp. 15s.
- E. Holt: *THE WORLD AT WAR 1939-1945*. London: Putnam. 1956. 272 pp. 15s.
- Marjorie Barnard: *SYDNEY, THE STORY OF A CITY*. Melbourne University Press. Cambridge University Press. 1957. 79 pp. Illus. 13s. 6d.
- Eugene de Veauce: *L'AFFAIRE DU MASQUE DE NAPOLEON*. Lyon: Bosc Frères. 1957. 236 pp. Illus. 1000 fr.

- R. J. Polaschek (editor): *LOCAL GOVERNMENT IN NEW ZEALAND*. Oxford University Press. 1956. 122 pp. 16s.
- J. G. Lockhart: *THE LIFE OF SIR WALTER SCOTT*. Introduction by W. M. Parker. London: Dent. Everyman's Library. 1957. 16 + 675 pp. 10s. 6d.
- Margaret Carlyle: *MODERN ITALY*. London: Hutchinson's University Library. 1957. 159 pp. 10s. 6d.
- Christopher Dawson: *THE REVOLT OF ASIA*. London: Sheed and Ward. 1957. 48 pp. 3s. 6d.
- R. D. Wilson: *HERE IS HAITI*. New York: Philosophical Library. 1957. 204 pp. \$3.50.
- AN ECONOMIC GEOGRAPHY OF THE COMMONWEALTH, prepared by the Economist Intelligence Unit. 1957. 296 pp. Maps, illus. 18s. 6d.
- Franz Cumont: *THE MYSTERIES OF MITHRA*. Translated from 2nd French edition of 1902. London: Mayflower Publishing Co. 1957. 239 pp. Illus. 16s.
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- Christopher Hibbert: *THE ROAD TO TYBURN: THE STORY OF JACK SHEPPARD AND THE 18TH CENTURY UNDERWORLD*. London: Longmans, Green. 1957. 163 pp. 16s.
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